

Fetus vs.
mother

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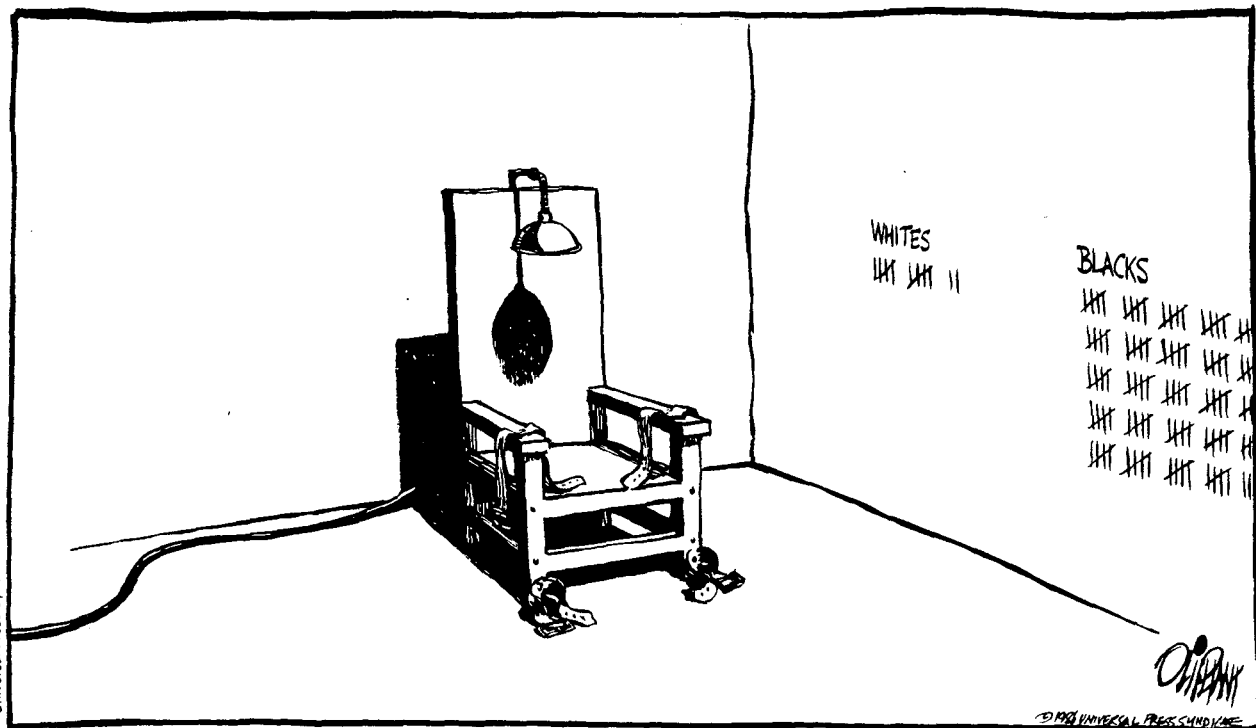
Don't

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Congressional
investigator
Thomas
Polgar's
art of
non-investigation
page 6

Contra chronology
Tracing the Boland Amendments
PAGE 12

Murphy's Law
Beverly Hills Cop-out
PAGE 20



UNEQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYMENT

Prisons in the U.S.: a growing black ghetto

By Salim Muwakkil

Even as the increasing "feminization" of poverty continues to cripple the future prospects of thousands of black women and their children, the growing criminalization of black men portends an even bleaker future for African-Americans. More black men are incarcerated in 1987 than ever before in this country's history, and recent rulings by the U.S. Supreme Court virtually assures that

man, a white lecturer at Northwestern University's Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research and a leading criminal justice analyst. "This rate remained about the same until 1972, when it went up dramatically. By the middle of 1986, more than a half-million people were incarcerated in state and federal prisons and the ratio jumped to 219 per 100,000." Whitman said that in 1983, the last year for which racial data are available, the imprisonment rate was 719 per 100,000 for blacks compared to 114 for whites. "This means that a black person is six times more likely to go to prison than a white person."

And Whitman's statistics don't include those incarcerated in local jails awaiting trial. He estimated, however, that the percentages of blacks probably was higher in such institutions, since confinement is more closely correlated with low income. The Supreme Court's recent 6-3 decision authorizing pretrial jailing of certain defendants deemed likely to commit future crimes no doubt will increase the number of inmates from among that population already perceived to be criminally oriented. Whitman's research also revealed that, while white people in the U.S. go to prison at a rate similar to that for most Western Europeans, blacks in this country go to prison more often than blacks in South Africa. "The U.S. has the highest black imprisonment rate in the world," Whitman said. "The latest surveys reveal that about one out of every four black men would go to prison in his lifetime."

An obstacle course: Since nearly half of all black children are reared in poverty, many black males are familiar with deprivation at an early age. Odds are better than 50-50 that he came of age in a household without a male role model, so many of his early behavioral patterns are formed through emulating "successful" males in an environment that rewards sociopathic behavior. He will most likely attend a substandard school and may not graduate, since one out of every five black youths drops out of school. And even if he graduates, his marketable skills are probably few. Black enrollment in colleges has declined precipitously since the middle '70s, so chances are most young black men—who were already underrepresented in such institutions—won't be attending. Drug use is near epidemic in many inner-city communities, both as a form of self-medication and as a staple in the underground economy.

Unemployment among black youth hovers near 50 percent and most of those who do work are underemployed. Even among black high school graduates, earnings fell 52 percent in 1985. And perhaps the most frustrating of all the obstacles confronting black males is the statistic that indicates how young black men have become their own worst enemies: the greatest cause of death among young black males is homicide. "With all of those negative factors impinging on the lives of black men, it's clear to me that this society has declared war on black men," said

Conrad Worrill, chair of the National Black United Front. "This new emphasis on imprisonment and capital punishment is just another escalation of tactics." Worrill was referring to the Supreme Court's April ruling that upheld Georgia's death penalty system despite powerful statistical evidence that killers of whites are much more likely to be condemned to death than killers of blacks.

The 5-4 ruling was denounced by civil and prisoner rights groups. Out of nearly 1,900 inmates on death row, about 42 percent are black; fewer than one in seven persons awaiting execution had murdered a black. Attorneys for Warren McClesky, the black man challenging Georgia's capital punishment law, argued that the defendant's race played a decisive role in capital-punishment decisions and that the death penalty was "cruel and unusual punishment" which is prohibited by the Eighth Amendment. According to one statistical study presented to the Court, people accused of killing whites in Georgia were about 11 times more likely to be given the death penalty than those who murdered blacks.

The Court's ruling in the McClesky case is the continuation of a trend that finds the justices increasingly unresponsive to civil-liberties claims by criminal defendants. According to the *New York Times*' Stuart Taylor Jr., "In its current term the Court has ruled for the prosecution in 19 of the 27 criminal law decisions. In 16 of the 19, it reversed pro-defendant decisions by state or federal appellate courts." Taylor wrote that those current decisions represent the Court's ongoing attack on rulings, reached more than 20 years ago during the reign of Chief Justice Earl Warren, that expanded defendants' rights. "This tough-on-crime approach reflects the fact that the Supreme Court in the long run is affected by public opinion, mainly through the presidential appointment process," Taylor wrote. And "the public has long been unsympathetic to civil-liberties arguments that make it harder to jail criminals."

Healthy paranoia: For Worrill, this growing law-and-order attitude spells trouble and opens another front in the skirmish he described. His hyperbolic depiction of the situation as an actual war against black males invites derision and charges of paranoia, but his voice sounds less shrill after considering the data. And Worrill is not alone.

"It is no coincidence that the rise in black imprisonment accompanies the rise of the [Ku Klux] Klan and the Nazis, attacks on black people in Howard Beach, Queens; in Forsyth County, Ga.; and in Chicago's Marquette Park, Uptown and other areas of the city," said Northwestern's Whitman. "It is not surprising that these events coincide with the term of a president who is endorsed by the Klan, who has undermined civil-rights advances and decimated social programs." Whitman said that white people are caught up in a "law-and-order ideology generated not by reality but by hysteria." Yet he placed the blame on something much deeper than passing political ideologies or differences in the judicial philosophies of Earl Warren and William H. Rehnquist.

"The disease of racism and white supremacy is behind all of this fear and hatred of black males, and it always has been," Whitman added. "I'm not saying that the black community is just a hapless and helpless victim of white supremacy, but unless we as a society, particularly whites, come to grips with the undeniable reality that this country is built on a foundation of slavery and racism, we won't solve the problems we're confronted with."

Whitman expressed little confidence that the white community would, under its own initiative, move to address the pervasive problem of racism. The hope for the future, he theorized, would have to come from indigenous African-American movements. Meanwhile, the prisons continue filling up with black inmates, and to help justify the discrimination illustrated by the racial ratio, white theorists are turning increasingly to genetic explanations for crime. *Crime and Human Nature*, by James Q. Wilson and Richard J. Herrnstein, is the latest installment in the hallowed European tradition of attributing crime to genes.

Whitman predicted that rationalizations for the continued oppression of African-Americans would become more common in coming years as the necessity to devise cultural justifications for notions of white supremacy increases. "It may even come closer to open genocide, unless people begin mobilizing against it."

INSIDE STORY

the numbers will continue rising. In 1925, the year the U.S. began keeping statistics on the prison population, the proportion of blacks in the overall prison population was 23 percent; it is now 46 percent. And this percentage has increased just as the prison population has skyrocketed. Prison overcrowding has become such a problem that 36 states have been ordered by the courts to reduce inmate populations by any way possible.

"In 1925 the imprisonment rate was 79 inmates per 100,000 people in the population," explained Steven Whit-

CONTENTS

Inside Story: Black crime and punishment	2
A look at fetal protection laws	3
In Short	4-5
Thomas Polgar's dirty hands	6-7
Labor and foreign policy	9
Britons go to the polls	10
Portugal—the tragedy of Otelo	11
Contra votes and the Boland Amendments	12-13
Editorial	14
Letters	15
Sylvia	15
Ashes & Diamonds by Alexander Cockburn	16
Everybody's Business	17
In Print: Computer myths	18
Insider trading	18
Cold War legacy	19
In the Arts: <i>Beverly Hills Cop II</i>	20
<i>Rosa Luxemburg</i>	21
Classifieds	23
Life in Hell	23
<i>New York Times</i> warp	24

Fetal protection becomes assault on motherhood

By Rex B. Wingerter

WASHINGTON

TWENTY-SEVEN-YEAR-OLD PAMELA RAE MONSON recently faced criminal charges in El Cajon, Calif., for the death of her six-week-old son because she allegedly took recreational drugs and failed to follow her physician's orders while pregnant. The court eventually dismissed the case, but not before Monson had spent six days in jail and had undergone five months of legal agony, according to her attorney Richard Boesen. The Monson case left unresolved a deeply emotional debate on what duties a pregnant woman owes her fetus and to what extent society ought to protect an unborn child.

"Bleed, baby, bleed": The debate is surprisingly complex, despite the surface simplicity of the issue. There is almost an instinctive demand for retribution against those who intentionally abuse and batter

LAW

children. The reaction is similar against those who would brutally assault pregnant women in order to kill their fetuses. In California, for example, Karl Smith beat his pregnant wife for an hour, kicking her in the stomach, shouting that he did not want the fetus and yelling, "Bleed, baby, bleed." Similarly, when Robert Keeler found out that his California wife was pregnant, he slammed his knee into her abdomen, shouting, "I'm going to stomp it out of you!"

But because California followed the common-law doctrine that an infant could not be the victim of a homicide unless it had been "born alive," the indictments against Smith and Keeler for the murders of the fetuses were dismissed. The men were later convicted on less serious charges—Keeler of assault and Smith of criminal abortion.

In response to the Smith and Keeler cases of the '70s, California lawmakers enacted "feticide" statutes permitting criminal sanctions against an assailant causing the death of a pregnant woman's fetus. About 16 states have enacted such statutes. In 1986 alone, feticide statutes were passed in Minnesota and introduced in Kentucky, Missouri, Nebraska, Virginia and West Virginia.

Accompanying the growth of criminal feticide statutes has been the legislative expansion of civil statutes that seek to protect the fetus. But unlike feticide laws that target a pregnant woman's assailant, civil statutes often take aim at the conduct of the pregnant mother. The logic underlying the laws is that since society persecutes parents who abuse their children, why not do the same to women who abuse their unborn children through indiscriminate drug abuse or indifferent health care?

California prosecutor Harry Elias based his feticide case against Monson, for example, on the amphetamine and marijuana traces found in the baby's blood. He also pointed out that she ignored her physician's order to abstain from sexual intercourse because of the abnormal position of her fetus,

as well as another order to seek medical help immediately if she experienced vaginal bleeding. Elias contended that once Monson began to bleed following intercourse, she waited 12 hours before going to the hospital.

Mother vs. child: The danger in invoking the legal system on behalf of a fetus, contends legal scholar Dawn Johnsen, is that it conceptualizes the fetus as an entity separate from the mother and pits the two against one another. "This adversarial relationship," says Johnsen, provides the "state with a powerful means for controlling women's behavior during pregnancy, thereby threatening women's fundamental rights." Giving a fetus legal rights independent of the pregnant woman, warns Johnsen, "makes possible the future creation of fetal rights that could be used against the pregnant woman."

Fetal protection laws already clash with the liberty and privacy rights of women. At least two states have ordered women to undergo Caesarean sections against their will. In California, a pregnant woman cancer patient was told by the Department of Social Service that in the event of her cardiac arrest she should undergo a Caesarean section—despite the fact that the operation could kill her. A court later sided with the mother.

But courts of law have ordered similarly drastic action on behalf of unborn children. An Illinois court, having found that a pregnant woman's heroin addiction constituted abuse of her fetus, made the fetus a "ward" of the state by putting the mother in a drug rehabilitation center. In Maryland, a judge ordered a pregnant woman to undergo periodic drug testing. In California, a court

Fetal rights laws may expose pregnant women to an almost endless array of potential liability and litigation.

confined a woman to a hospital for the last two months of her pregnancy by "taking jurisdiction" over her fetus. In New Jersey, a court ordered a woman to submit to blood transfusions to benefit her fetus. Finally, a Michigan appeals court permitted a child, whose teeth had turned brown because his mother took tetracycline during her pregnancy, to sue his mother for negligence.

Morality and legality: Johnsen has such cases in mind when she says a woman has a moral obligation to her unborn fetus, but that such a responsibility should not be made a legal duty. Georgetown University law professor Patricia King concurs with Johnsen. King's position is significant because seven years ago she wrote an article in the *Michigan Law Review* proposing a variety of fetal protection laws, hinting that a woman could be incarcerated for the good of the fetus. She explains that her change of philosophy came after deep and long soul-searching and was predicated by the thought of "locking up pregnant women." Moreover, King thinks a double standard is at play in



fetal protection laws. "Courts would never force an adult man to undergo bone-marrow extraction for the survival of his son or daughter," she protests, "but they would force a pregnant woman to undergo a blood transfusion for the good of the fetus."

Lynn Paltrow, staff attorney for the Reproductive Freedom Project of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), takes the argument one step further. She contends that "fetal protection laws are inherently vague and will always be discretionary when it comes to determining the standard of appropriate medical care." Such latitude, fears Paltrow, permits local prosecutors and judges to impose their own values on what they believe ought to be a woman's obligations toward her unborn child.

Paltrow and Johnsen fear that fetal rights laws would expose pregnant women to an almost endless array of potential liability and litigation. These worries are heightened by suggestions from fetal-rights advocates about the kind of legal obligations pregnant women should have to their fetuses. One pediatrician urged readers of *Medical World News* that "every woman should consider herself pregnant on the first day her period is due and avoid exposure to anything that has been implicated in birth defects."

Physician-attorney Margery Shaw has written that a woman owes her fetus "regular prenatal checkups; a balanced diet with vitamin, iron and calcium supplementation; weight control; and the judicious use of medications, tobacco and caffeine." She adds that "negligent exposure to noxious chemicals and drugs, refusal to accept genetic counseling and prenatal diagnosis, refusal to obtain prenatal therapy or failure to provide a modified diet" could lead to legal action.

Risky business: The effect of such laws, says legal scholar Johnsen, would mean that "pregnant women would live in constant fear that any accident or 'error' in judgment could be deemed 'unacceptable' and become

the basis for criminal prosecution by the state or a civil suit by a disenchanted husband or relative."

Other women's rights activists interpret fetal protection policies as a new tactic to keep women out of the industrial workplace. At least 15 of the 500 largest U.S. companies refuse to hire or permit fertile women to work in settings that would be potentially hazardous to reproduction, according to Emily Buss in the *Yale Law Review*. "Many of these policies," writes Buss, "appear to be nothing but pretexts for denying women high-paying, traditionally male, blue-collar jobs.... Fetal protection policies are conspicuously absent in the female-dominated workplaces—the 'pink-collar ghettos'—where women are also exposed to reproductive hazards."

Paltrow points out that 900,000 women each year suffer miscarriages and stillbirths. She asserts that under fetal protection laws each one could theoretically be required to prove in court that their prenatal care was adequate.

The race factor: The importance of prenatal care is underscored by the fact that babies born to women receiving no prenatal care are three times more likely to die within the first year than those born to mothers who received adequate care, according to the Children's Defense Fund (CDF), a Washington, D.C., public interest organization.

But if a pregnant woman's legal liability for fetal neglect hinges on prenatal care, class and racial factors may help determine the potential defendants.

According to CDF studies, the poor and non-white make up the largest number of women not receiving prenatal care. In 1982, three of five Hispanic infants were born to mothers who did not receive prenatal care early in pregnancy. One in 10 black infants born in 1983 had mothers who received either minimal or no prenatal care. Twice

Continued on page 8

INSHORT

Joel Bleifuss

Don't look now, but...

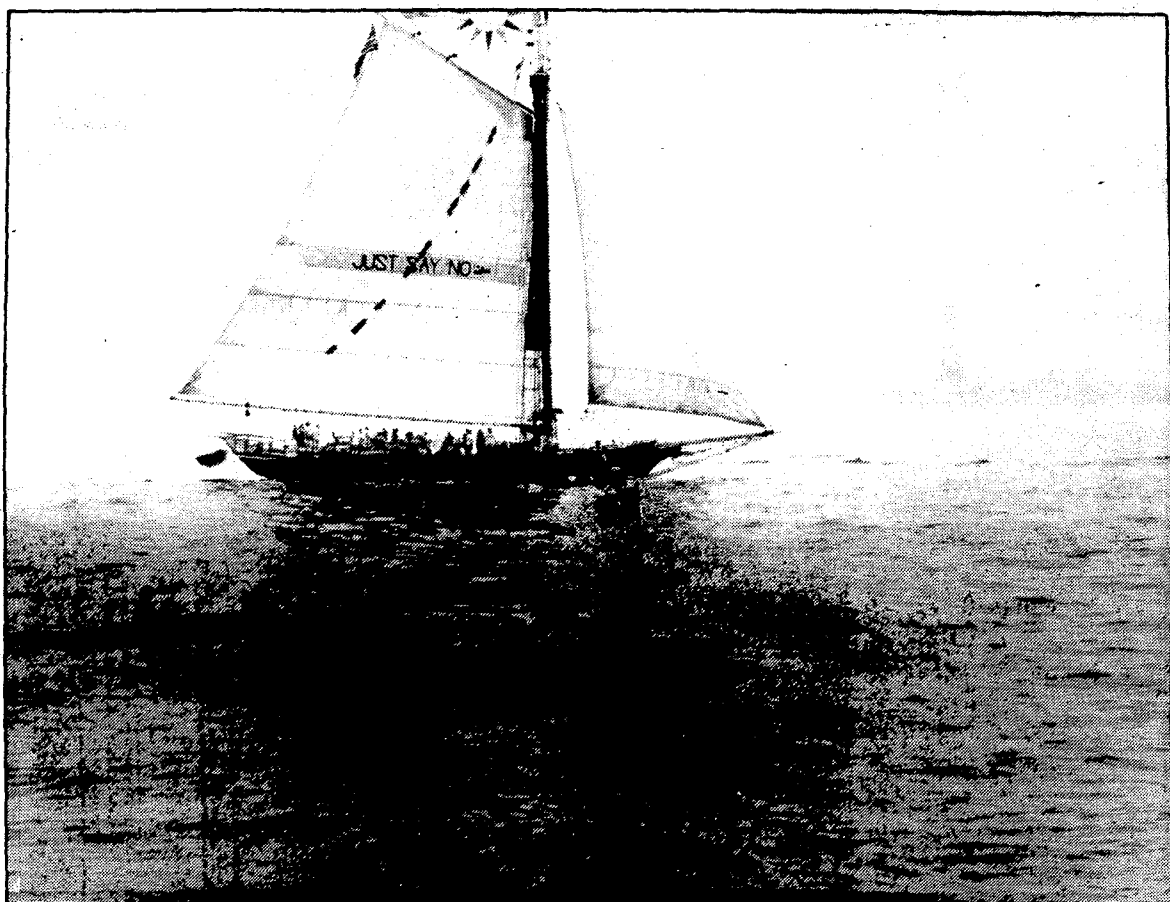
The Joseph R. McCarthy Educational Foundation, Inc. considered setting up a scholarship to honor deserving young fans of the late senator, but there was one problem, reports Tim Cupriss in the *Milwaukee Journal*. Foundation board member Valerie Sitter, 70, explained: "We had hoped that we could give scholarships to young students in history, political science, things like that. But there's no university in existence anymore I think that would even qualify for what we're looking for." Sitter believes journalists, educators and other "comm symps" have unfairly depicted McCarthy and his supporters as communist-obsessed lunatics. Not so, said Sitter. "So many times you've probably heard that people like us, we see communists under our bed all the time. I don't have to look under my bed for them. They're out on the loose."

Philology of nuclear pornography

Is phallic worship, or "missile envy," as Helen Caldicott calls it, a motivating force in the global arms race? In the June *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, psychologist Carol Cohn examines the language of nuclear war. She writes: "I was curious about the extent to which I might find a sexual subtext in the defense professionals' discourse. I was not prepared for what I found. Cohn found a professor who explained that the MX missiles were to be placed in the silos of the newer Minuteman missiles—instead of the silos of older missiles—because, as the professor put it, 'they're in the nicest hole—you're not going to take the nicest missile you have and put it in a crummy hole.' She also found a National Security Council military adviser who described the comparative advantages of a protracted nuclear attack versus a spasm attack that entails "releasing 70 to 80 percent of our megatonnage in one orgasmic whiff." Then there was a military guide aboard a nuclear submarine who, leading Cohn to the area where the missiles were housed, invited her to stick her hand through a hole and "pat the missiles." What's more, Cohn discovered the work of journalist William Laurence, who got an Army invitation to witness the bombing of Nagasaki. He watched and wrote: "The mushroom top was even more alive than the pillar, seething and boiling in a white fury of creamy foam, sizzling upward and then descending earthward, a thousand goysers rolled into one. It kept struggling in an elemental fury, like a creature in the act of breaking the bonds that held it down." Finally she met a former Pentagon target analyst who ridiculed the idea that the U.S. military would ever fight a limited nuclear war. He told Cohn: "Look, you gotta understand that it's a pissing contest—you gotta expect them to use everything they've got."

Tennessee Guard returns: rat-a-tat-tat

The Tennessee National Guard made the news last fall by invading high school assemblies—storming from helicopters, guns blazing blanks, showing today's youth what it will be like with the enemy at tomorrow's door. A few weeks ago, Tennessee's grown-up soldiers went a step further and offered Nashville youngsters the chance to camouflage their faces and fire machine guns armed with blanks. (Tennessee is, after all, the volunteer state.) As Bridget Kelley reports in *The Tennessean*, this gunning took place at "Sounds of Freedom," the Guard's touring exposition of military might. But Michael Argo, father of two, protested. He said the opportunity to fire a machine gun served only to indoctrinate children in war and violence. Some of the children pulling machine-gun triggers were three years old. But Mary Gellot, marketing director of the Nashville amphitheater that hosted the "Sounds of Freedom," disagreed: "This is not an overt militaristic display of force. It's a tribute to the armed forces and the servicemen of our country." She added that all machine-gunning was supervised. "It's not like we're giving them Uzis and telling them to go out in the back yard and play." Tennessee's Guard was surprised by the uproar. After all, similar demonstrations have been held across the state and are invariably popular. Said information officer Capt. Keith Preston: "Children and adults eat it up."



David Vita

No-nuke port of call: The Hudson River sloop *Clearwater* and two kayaks patrol New York Harbor to protest the planned basing of the nuclear-armed battleship *Iowa* on Staten Island. "Peace navies" across the globe went to sea on May 30 for the Disarm the Seas Weekend. Mobilization for Survival's John Miller, coordinator of the U.S. actions, explained, "People around the world are asking their governments to follow New Zealand's example and ban nuclear-capable vessels from their ports."

Linking up with the East bloc peace movement

Overcoming government harassment, independent peace and human rights workers from Eastern Europe and peace movement leaders from the West came together in an unprecedented meeting this past May in Warsaw, Poland. The three-day seminar, "International Peace and the Helsinki Agreement," was organized by Polish Freedom and Peace, a group formed two years ago to support imprisoned conscientious objectors.

From the moment planning for the meeting began until just hours before it actually got underway on May 7, it was not clear whether the seminar would take place. Polish authorities termed the seminar a provocation and pressured the Church of the Merciful God to withdraw the use of its premises. And at the last moment about 20 Freedom and Peace members were detained. But early arrivals at the conference, hearing reports of the detentions, decided to sleep in the church in order to minimize the possibility of additional arrests, and the police did not attempt further interference.

The conference was the most recent event in a four-year process of discussion and cooperation between East bloc peace and human rights workers and the Western (mainly European) peace movement. Many highly respected Solidarity leaders attended, as did representatives from Charter 77, the Czech human rights movement, and from the Ljubljana, Yugoslavia, in-

dependent peace group. Statements of support were sent by the Moscow Trust Group and from independent Hungarian and East German activists who had planned to attend but were refused visas.

Participants from Western Europe included members of the Green Party of West Germany, British END and French CODENE. From the U.S., peace activists attended from the Campaign for Peace and Democracy East and West, Peace Activists East and West, *Sojourners* magazine and the War Resisters League. Helsinki Watch sent an observer.

At the end of the conference, the participants released a joint statement that included the following points: peace and human rights are profoundly linked and movements for these goals must find ways to support one another; the basis of human rights is respect for human dignity, and we must struggle for human dignity wherever it is violated; the freedom of citizens is the basis of genuine security; real peace cannot be achieved without the participation of ordinary people; the ecological problems are international and citizens must have access to full information on matters of environmental construction of nuclear power plants must be stopped and all military and civilian nuclear power be phased out; the international arms trade should be outlawed.

An area of controversy, not necessarily based on an East-West division, was the question of whether disarmament agreements, in the absence of a resolution of human rights issues, should be supported.

Although several American peace groups were represented at this seminar, the American peace

movement is, as a whole, trapped in Cold-War ideology; the idea that the enemy of our enemy is a friend and the belief that the movement has no responsibility to support human rights and social justice in the East bloc. What else could explain the continued enthusiasm many U.S. peace activists and organizations have for working closely with the state-sponsored peace committees of Warsaw Pact countries while ignoring the independent peace and human rights groups that have emerged in the Eastern bloc.

Czech youth remember John Lennon as a symbol of peace, commemorating his death in gatherings where they light candles and sing Beatles songs. For this they are harassed by the Prague police. A photographic display on Martin Luther King Jr. and the civil rights movement is prominently displayed in the Polish church that hosted the peace seminar. These peace and human rights movements include cultural rebels and punk and jazz musicians imprisoned for their struggle for independent culture. They also include historians and sociologists, workers and students, Catholics and socialists.

Upon what vision can the U.S. peace movement base its case to the American public? In South Africa peace is not possible until all South Africans are granted full human rights. Can anything be less true for the people of Eastern and Central Europe?

—Judith Hempfling

The author, a member of Peace Activists East and West, attended the Warsaw seminar.

Saturday Night Not-So-Live

As congressional debate over the Fairness Doctrine heats up, recent events at NBC show that a broadcaster's obligation to present a variety of viewpoints extends only sporadically to "entertainment" programming.

On May 29, NBC rebroadcast the Oct. 18, 1986, episode of *Saturday Night Live*. When originally aired, NBC's Office of Broadcast Standards cut segments of comedian Sam Kinison's monologue from the tape-delay broadcast to areas outside the Eastern time zone. The rebroadcast episode was also substantially cut—but the cuts were significantly different.

During the October 18 broadcasts, Kinison said: "Now they want us to stop doing crack. *If they want us to stop doing crack, they should give us back the pot.* They've got all the pot." At that time, only the italicized section of his remarks was censored. But in the May rebroadcast, the surrounding lines—from which the missing words could previously have been infer-

red—were also deleted. In both cases, the sound portion of the TV image was simply eliminated with no indication that what was occurring was censorship rather than technical difficulty.

Conversely, Kinison's comments on the divine instruction given Rev. Pat Robertson and other TV evangelists—to run for president, to found TV ministries, to form non-profit, tax-free corporations, to buy amusement parks—and his concluding observation that "Jesus hasn't talked with anybody in 2000 years," were entirely eliminated from the October tape delay broadcast, but reinstated in May.

In October, NBC justified the cuts on the grounds of its "longstanding policy of not advocating the use or abuse of illegal drugs," and "long-standing policy of responsible portrayal of material relating to religious beliefs."

The changeable nature of supposedly "longstanding policies" and "standards" is underscored by an anecdote *Saturday Night Live* producer Lorne Michaels related in the week following the original cuts. "When I came back to the show last year [1985], we had to

pick a back-up for the first show. We narrowed it down to five [previously aired programs] from the period of 1975-80. None of them passed Standards."

Asked about the propriety of its censorship methods—the simple elimination of the soundtrack without any onscreen acknowledgment that the cut is intentional—an NBC press officer said, "It is not NBC policy to comment on material that is not broadcast."

Welcome to the wonderland of the networkspeak. "When I use a word," Humpty Dumpty said, in rather a scornful tone, "it means just what I choose it to mean—neither more nor less." NBC does not have a censor, it has an Office of Broadcast Standards. Words are not "censored," they are merely "not broadcast." The grounds for "not broadcasting" have nothing to do, as one NBC press officer said in October, with the current political climate. They are just "long-standing policies"; NBC is not restricting free speech; it is simply behaving as a "responsible broadcaster." And war is peace. And truth is ignorance.

—Fred Little

U.S. Senate targets wrong terrorists

HARARE, ZIMBABWE—While the U.S. Congress considers a plan to punish the nine nations of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) for allegedly harboring anti-South African terrorists, a wave of pro-apartheid terrorism is rocking the SADCC region.

With typically bad aim, apartheid's commandos killed three Mozambicans in a May 29 pre-dawn raid on Maputo, while injuring no one at the targeted African National Congress (ANC) office. This was the latest in a series of bombings and raids that have also hit Zimbabwe, Zambia, Swaziland and Botswana in the past month and a half.

South African Council of Churches' Director of Justice and Reconciliation Wolfram Kistner said after the Maputo raid that he suspects South Africa is deliberately targeting uninvolved bystanders. Pretoria's goal, he suggested, is to strong-arm neighbors into expelling all South African exiles whether they are linked to the ANC or not. This wave of violence began with the April 25 killings of four Zambian citizens in Livingston, a resort town near Victoria Falls. (See *In These Times*, May 6). South Africa admitted guilt, inaccurately dubbing the victims "ANC terrorists."

Despite formal denials from Pretoria, regional leaders blamed South Africa for the following:

- the killing in Swaziland of two local students, along with an ANC member, in a machine-gun attack on a car.
- the attempted murder in Botswana of Ronnie Watson, a South

African lauded by blacks and reviled by many fellow whites for his leadership in the movement against segregated sports.

- the bombing death in Harare of a Zimbabwean woman married to an ANC member.

This broad-shot violence contrasts with the ANC's armed actions. At some risk to his standing among militant youths in South Africa's black townships, ANC President Oliver Tambo has repeatedly and publicly discouraged "necklacing": the immolation of suspected apartheid collaborators with gasoline-soaked tires.

The latest known violence by the ANC's armed wing, *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, was the May 20 killings of four policemen in synchronized bombings outside a Johannesburg courthouse. Reported Johannesburg's anti-apartheid *Weekly Mail*, it was "practically a textbook example of the ANC's policy of hitting only 'hard targets.'" The ANC has also claimed killing 23 other police and soldiers in recent attacks.

Beset as they are by Pretoria's violence, South Africa's black-led neighbors fear that a May vote by the U.S. Senate—a vote that made headlines throughout this region—will have deadly consequences.

Framed as an anti-terrorist measure, the "Pressler Amendment" to a supplemental appropriations bill will, if it survives a House-Senate conference in mid-June, almost certainly be used to justify South African violence against its neighboring states.

The amendment would deny U.S. aid to SADCC countries unless they act to stop alleged cross-border violence against South Africa. It also demands that SADCC nations

denounce necklacing and expel from their territory any group that fails to do so. This language appears artfully designed to focus on the ANC, which discourages necklacing but refuses to denounce those it says are driven to extremes by their own lack of weapons and Pretoria's overwhelming power.

Pressler's plan would, according to critics here, give a U.S. stamp of approval to South African claims that its cross-border raids are designed to hit "terror bases" in neighboring states. For this reason, South African state radio hailed the 77-15 Senate vote, while a Zimbabwe newspaper ominously predicted it would make Pretoria "feel licensed to set the region on fire."

The Reagan administration, working to redeem an image tarnished in black Africa by its constructive engagement policy, has urged new aid to SADCC and is opposing the Pressler Amendment. It may, however, be unwilling to expend much political capital in a fight against the right-wing normally aligned with the president.

To really combat state terrorism, the Pressler Amendment should target the genuine terrorists, argued southern Africa expert Joseph Hanlon on BBC's *Africa Service*. Hanlon, a former Maputo correspondent for the BBC and *The Guardian* of London, said there are only two "terrorist" states active in the region: the Pretoria government with its covert wars against all its neighbors and a U.S. administration that joins the South Africans in sponsoring Jonas Savimbi's UNITA "freedom fighters" against the Angolan government.

—Steve Askin

A little rain forest in every bite

The granddaddy of fast food, McDonald's, recently asked West Germany to let it open a franchise in the Bundestag. McDonald's wanted to serve up Big Macs and fries to the 520 members of the West German parliament, according to Anna Tomforde of *The Guardian* of London. The Christian Democrat's speaker, Philipp Jenninger, declined the offer. The Greens were more direct. Said their party's spokesman: "We don't go in for this kind of eating and, what's more, for the way the meat is produced. Did you know that huge forests are being destroyed in Honduras and Ecuador to provide grazing ground for cattle for American fast-food chains?" According to the Meat Importers Council of America, almost all the beef imported from Central America makes its way into hamburgers and other processed meats. That beef usually comes from cattle that graze on cleared forest land. Norman Meyers, an expert on rain-forest ecology, describes this fast-food exploitation of the environment as the "hamburgerization of the rain forest."

Stumping for the working poor

Jesse Jackson, preacher and presidential candidate, was in New York City two weeks ago agitating for pay raises and medical benefits on behalf of the 80,000 home health-care workers who take care of the city's 50,000 elderly and disabled homebound residents. These workers, employed by non-profit agencies and paid with city-controlled public funds, earn an average starting wage of \$4.15 an hour. Seventy-six percent of home health-care workers (virtually all of whom are minority women) are their family's primary breadwinners. Jackson was invited to New York by locals of the Drug, Hospital and Health Care Employees Union and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. At the unions' request, Jackson met with New York Cardinal John O'Connor to ask him to support the struggle. During the subsequent news conference the cardinal said, "The home health-care workers generally are just paid miserably." And he added that although it was not appropriate for him to endorse anyone running for office, "I will do what I can to help any candidate to give a voice to the needs of the poor."

Lonely hearts in the Reagan years

Concerned Singles Newsletter's "socially concerned" subscribers most often mention "sense of humor" as the quality sought in potential mates, according to Allan Black, director of Concerned Singles. And the least-asked-for trait is "sexy." (However, "slender," "attractive" and "physically fit" figure prominently.) Who advertises themselves as single and concerned? Among the unattached women in the May June "female listings" there are: a "professional" female, 37, who is an "emphatic, very bright and beautiful human rights activist"; a "50-year-old ageless woman, with enough energy for a younger man" who is "dedicated to world peace, through inner peace"; a childless divorcee, "democrat" and "atheist" who at 33 is "devoted to non-smokers' rights and preservation of endangered species" and enjoys "horseracing, trout fishing"; an "intense" woman, 40, who is the "joyful descendant of Emma Goldman and the ancient goddesses." As for those concerned men? The latest male listings include: an "affectionate, hard-working Marxist" who at 27 is "6', 170, athletic" and a "pilot, tradesman, union activist"; a 54-year-old "creative, mischievous radical intellectual and committed anti-authoritarian activist looking for a feminist woman"; a nurse, 36, who is "into usual aerobic whatnot, Ollie North's uniforms, topographical maps of Wyoming" and confesses "a preferential option for roses over bread"; a "foreign correspondent, photojournalist" who has been "around the world 14 times covering wars and revolutions for the past 30 years." The May June newsletter also includes 71 other concerned singles. Matchmaker Black, a semi-retired psychotherapist, founded Concerned Singles in 1984 as a service for those who "kept meeting reactionaries or yuppies." So far he knows of 10 or so marriages born in his newsletter and "a lot more relationships in various stages, from living together to just corresponding."

Congressional conflict of interest: a CIA good ol' boy probes the network

"Never wrestle with pigs," investigator Thomas Polgar used to say about liberals on Capitol Hill. "They enjoy it and you get dirty."
—from *Decent Interval* by Frank Snepp, a former Polgar colleague at the CIA

By Vince Bielski and Dennis Bernstein

AS SAIGON WAS ABOUT TO FALL, THOMAS Polgar, the CIA station chief, would avoid yet another wrestling match with the "pigs." A fact-finding group of liberal members of Congress was about to pounce on Polgar, who had been feeding them blatantly inaccurate reports on South Vietnam's strength.

"Which one is Polgar," yelled Bella Abzug, the outspoken representative from New York, as she entered the conference room in the U.S. Embassy. But Polgar was prepared with a "Barnum and Bailey extravaganza" of false and misleading reports and charts, according to former Polgar CIA cohort Frank Snepp, to appease the doubting Thomases from Washington. It was part of Polgar's ongoing misinformation campaign to defend a continuing U.S. presence in Vietnam, even though his own emergency rooftop departure from the embassy was only two months away.

That was 1975. A little over a decade later, another U.S. intervention, this one in Nicaragua, has also created a domestic political crisis. But this crisis—known as the Iran-contra scandal—is markedly different. During the Vietnam War Polgar became the object of congressional scorn. But 12 years have passed, the country has moved to the right, and Polgar now finds himself playing in the pig pen as a congressional investigator in the Iran-contra scandal.

Polgar's loyalty to the CIA hasn't waned since Vietnam. What has changed is that the country is now less willing to examine its policy contradictions. And Polgar's appointment as an investigator on the congressional panel now probing the Reagangate scandal is a clear sign of this.

A second chance: Recall the Pike and Church hearings in 1975, which exposed the CIA's role in assassination plots and other dirty deeds. For a brief moment at these hearings the question of the CIA's compatibility with U.S. democracy was on trial. And the CIA lost some ground; its covert operations' capability shrank from 1,200 to 400 men. At the time Polgar's world was crumbling before him. But now he has a chance to prevent a second house-cleaning.

Upon arriving in Washington for his new job Polgar met with former CIA colleague Donald Gregg, who is an adviser to Vice President George Bush. Gregg is only one of many former Polgar colleagues connected to the Iran-contra scandal.

According to the February 23 *Legal Times*, Polgar laid out his agenda to Gregg this way: "He wanted to assure me that [the hearings] would not be a repeat of the Pike and Church investigation."

A clear sign that House-Senate panelists are not headed in that direction is the blackout at the hearings of the 1984 terrorist bombing in La Penca, Nicaragua. At a press conference eight people, including an American reporter, were killed during the blast intended to kill Eden Pastora, the renegade contra leader. Yet evidence recently uncovered links the terrorist scheme to a CIA operative who, according to the Tower Report, was a close associate of Lt. Col. Oliver North in the arms network.

Nor has the evidence of the CIA's complicity in drug trafficking been addressed at the hearings (see *In These Times*, Dec. 10, 1986). Several of the contra supporters linked to La Penca are also allegedly key players in the cocaine trade based in Costa Rica.

For now, Congress has drawn a bottom line and buried La Penca beneath it. This blackout appears to have been helped along by Polgar. The man who used to fool Capitol Hill is now helping it fool itself.

Whether or not the longtime CIA operative could conduct a fair investigation of a scandal replete with CIA illegalities was apparently never a question for Sen. Warren Rudman (R-NH), the vice-chair of the Senate panel. Rudman told the press that the panel members needed an intelligence expert to guide them through the complex probe of a covert operation, and he handpicked Polgar for the job. The fact that Polgar's son is Rudman's legislative aide didn't hurt Polgar's chances for selection.

On the Senate panel, which is now holding hearings with a House panel, the topics of the investigation were divided among the six investigators and 13 lawyers who feed information to the panelists, according to Lance Morgan, Senate panel spokesman. Polgar, the only member of the investigation who has a CIA background, was one of two investigators who traveled to Costa Rica in April to investigate, among other things, the La Penca bombing.

The investigation was a whitewash. Polgar apparently chose not to collect key evidence that was readily available from witnesses. And at the hearings, panelists have allowed witnesses to make un rebutted denunciations of the Christic Institute, a non-profit Washington law firm that has uncovered much of the La Penca evidence.

The Institute has filed a federal civil suit under the federal Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO) statute against Ret. Gen. Richard Secord, John Hull, Robert Owen and other key figures in the Iran-contra scandal. The plaintiffs, journalists Martha Honey and Tony Avirgan, allege the defendants were part of a major weapons-drugs conspiracy and were involved in the La Penca bomb plot. Avirgan was severely hurt at the bombing, and with Honey, his wife, is suing for personal damages.

Polgar's appointment to the Senate panel raises undeniable conflict-of-interest issues. He is an active member of the Association of Former Intelligence Officers (AFIO), an organization that expends considerable energy

lobbying Congress on behalf of U.S. intelligence activities. He served as a consultant to the Vice President's Task Force on Combatting Terrorism, a home port for several figures in the Iran-contra scandal. He is a paid consultant for a corporate risk-analysis firm that had ties to ex-Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza. And as CIA chief of station in Vietnam, Polgar worked for Theodore Shackley, a former top CIA official who facilitated arms sales to Iran. Shackley is also a defendant in the Christic Institute's suit.

"Polgar felt it proper for an intelligence officer to be an activist," said Snepp, "to lobby for a particular point of view."

The outsider: Like many immigrants past and present, Polgar has been a true believer in America since the day he arrived here in the early '30s as a young boy. A Hungarian



Jew who fled Eastern Europe to the U.S. to escape Hitler's onslaught, he soon found himself back in Europe fighting fascism as a counterespionage agent with the U.S. Office of Strategic Services, the predecessor to the CIA. In the ensuing 30 years he diligently worked his way up in the CIA to the prestigious job of chief of station in several countries, including a four-year stint in Vietnam.

"Because of his accent and his past, Polgar always considered himself an outsider in the CIA's ivy-covered bureaucracy," wrote Snepp, an intelligence analyst in Vietnam. He overcame his personal insecurities with extra effort and faith in then-Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, whose "personality was as important to him as his politics," Snepp wrote, "for Kissinger's own accent and past were proof to Polgar that outsiders could triumph in the elite world of American diplomacy."

Polgar did enter this elite world, and he demonstrated the arrogance that came with having such power, according to Snepp, who was Polgar's top intelligence adviser in Vietnam.

From 1972 to 1975 Polgar "deliberately distorted" intelligence reports sent from Vietnam to top Washington officials and Congress to keep U.S. aid flowing to the South, according to Snepp. This happened at a time when lawmakers, sensing Saigon's imminent fall, were moving to curtail U.S. involvement in the war.

"Polgar would filter out information in our reports to cover up massive corruption and low troop morale," Snepp said. "He would Polgarize it. That's what we called it when Polgar would edit a report into oblivion."

"When the south was shattering like a vase struck with a sledgehammer, Polgar was saying to us, 'Things are rosy here,'" said John Stockwell, a former CIA operative under Polgar's command. "We would look at him and

say, 'Is this man sane?'"

One CIA officer, who defied Polgar's censorship, sent a report directly to CIA headquarters in Washington, saying soldiers "no longer have the will to fight...because of shameless corruption by their superiors.... It will be difficult for South Vietnam to win...." according to Snepp. Polgar dashed off a rebuttal, saying, "The government still has an iron grip on the society." Snepp wrote the report and distributed it to reporters on the eve of the total collapse of the South Vietnamese army.

After the U.S. defeat Snepp testified about Polgar to the Senate Intelligence Committee, then chaired by Sen. Daniel Inouye (D-HA), though a formal investigation was never conducted. Recently Polgar has publicly dismissed Snepp's criticisms, saying the Senate exonerated him.

More than a decade later, Inouye, chairman of the Senate panel, personally approved Polgar's appointment as a congressional investigator. But Inouye's faith in Polgar seems to have been mislaid. The retired CIA official is again ignoring the evidence before him, this time in Costa Rica.

A company man: After Vietnam Polgar became station chief in Mexico, and then took a top personnel post at CIA headquarters. To this day he remains a CIA loyalist. Upon retiring, he joined the Association of Former Intelligence Officers (AFIO), founded in 1975 by David Atlee Phillips, chief of the CIA's Chilean Task Force during the overthrow of Chilean President Salvador Allende. AFIO's mission is to restore the CIA's capabilities "in the wake of the revelations and allegations emanating from the media [and] Congress," its literature says. AFIO members "testify before committees of the House and Senate [and monitor] media reporting on intelligence matters and attempt to set the record straight."

AFIO lobbies Congress vigorously for laws "which protect the legitimate secrets of our government," its literature reads. By appointing an active AFIO member as an investigator, the House-Senate panel has compromised the independence of its investigation. Or, in other words, the panel has placed itself in an undeniable conflict of interest.

A loyal soldier: Not surprisingly, Polgar is one of AFIO's most loyal soldiers, says Executive Director John K. Greaney. He hosted AFIO's 12th annual convention in Florida in 1986, described as a "grand reunion of veterans of the nation's intelligence services." As a guest speaker, Reed Irvine of the ultra-right watchdog group Accuracy in Media rebutted a recent *Miami Vice* episode "in which U.S. intelligence operatives involved in Central American operations were portrayed as bloodthirsty killers [and in which] emotional music [makes] viewers feel guilt over the U.S. role in the Nicaraguan conflict, reads an 1986 AFIO publication.

Another conflict of interest arises out of Polgar's 1985 consultantship with the Vice President's Task Force on Combatting Terrorism. The task force produced a public report in 1985, but from top to bottom, Bush's task force was stacked with operatives who participated in the covert aid network to the contras, including National Security Adviser John Poindexter and Oliver North. In his role as a consultant, Polgar met in Washington in 1985 with members of the task force's Staff Working Group, said Terrell Arnold, the group's chief consultant.



From 1972 to 1975 Thomas Polgar "deliberately distorted" intelligence reports sent from Vietnam to Washington, according to a former associate.

The Staff Working Group included Robert Earl and Craig Coy, two North aides linked to the covert aid operation. Arnold wouldn't comment on the meeting to *In These Times*.

Polgar has also maintained ties with former CIA officers through a paid consultancy with a corporate risk-analysis firm in Miami Beach named Ackerman & Palumbo, Inc. E.C. Mike Ackerman, an 11-year veteran of CIA covert action in Latin America and Europe, and former CIA officer Louis Palumbo became business partners in 1977 after Ackerman resigned from the agency to "protest the sensation-seeking congressional investigation of the agency."

The company provides Fortune 500 companies overseas with counterterrorism information, training in security and executive kidnap-retrieval services. In 1979 the firm helped a company flee Nicaragua with the former dictator, according to press reports. For the last two years, Polgar has been a paid consultant, Ackerman said, and has worked specifically on the Latin American accounts.

But far from seeing Polgar's background as a problem, Rudman has defended the former CIA operative's past by referring to Polgar's recently published news articles. "Anyone who looks at his recent writings and his recent criticism of the agency knows that [such criticism] is upside down," Rudman told the *Legal Times*. Rudman, however, hasn't read Polgar's writings very carefully. Consider his Dec. 14, 1986, article in the *Miami Herald*, for example, titled "Decent Men Outside the Law."

I believe: Polgar's lengthy piece was a tribute to Eugene Hasenfus and the other "decent men with a patriotic motivation who believe in what they are doing." It read like CIA propaganda: "I think the CIA is telling the truth that it was not involved in the flight on which the Hasenfus plane was shot down...." To run the contra airlift, he added, "the call went out to people no longer connected with

Can a longtime CIA operative conduct a congressional investigation of a scandal replete with CIA illegalities?

the government.... Indeed, the former or retired CIA types probably had more experience with covert operations...than the people now on active duty."

In fact, the Hasenfus cargo plane shot down in Nicaragua was part of an airlift operation linked to the CIA station chief in Costa Rica. And despite Polgar's preconceived notions on the facts, he was picked by the Senate panel to go on a fact-finding mission to Costa Rica in April.

The evidence supporting CIA involvement in La Penca and drug trafficking was within easy reach for Polgar when he travelled to Costa Rica. But since his interviews were arranged by the U.S. Embassy in San Jose—

whose mission over the last two years was to help North set up the Southern Front—a thorough investigation was out of the question. And it appears that Polgar employed the selective reporting technique that he mastered in Vietnam.

Evidence suggests that the CIA, with the help of Cuban-Americans and a U.S. rancher based in Costa Rica named John Hull, threw the first punch in the covert operation in trying to knock out the independent-minded Eden Pastora from the "Southern Front." The CIA saw Pastora, the most popular contra commander in Costa Rica, as an obstacle to the contra army's growth. Pastora, who helped overthrow Somoza, refused to align himself with contra leader Adolfo Calero.

In recent depositions taken by the Christic Institute on behalf of reporters Honey and Avirgan, former Costa Rican Attorney General Fernando Cruz said under oath that the government investigation revealed the bomber to be a man identifying himself as Per Anker Hansen. Honey and Avirgan, in their 1985 report "La Penca: Pastora, the Press and the CIA," provide evidence that Hansen is actually a Libyan named Amac Galil, who was recruited from the Chilean secret police.

Hull is a former CIA operative, according to a Justice Department document. He was seen travelling with Hansen at a border post in Costa Rica not far from the site of the bombing, according to Costa Rican government security agent Alberto Guevara. Under oath, Guevara said he assisted Hull and Hansen in reconnaissance work in preparation

for the bombing. "Twenty-two days before the bombing," he said, "they arrived at the post with an order from the central headquarters [of the Costa Rican security ministry] in which cooperation was...requested. We provided them with a boat, with an outboard motor." According to a contra source, at the time of the bombing several of the plotters were sitting in a boat in a river near the press conference as part of an escape plan.

Against logic: Hull would have been a logical witness for Polgar to interview, but Hull told *In These Times* that he never talked with the investigator. Polgar also never interviewed one of the key witnesses to Hull's contra military operation—Peter Glibbery, a British mercenary in jail in Costa Rica. And Polgar never contacted the Christic Institute to take advantage of its numerous contra and government sources.

U.S. Embassy officer Charles Harrington did set up an interview between Polgar and Pastora, according to Pastora aide Carol Prado, who attended the meeting. "It was very informal," Prado told *In These Times*. The only question that Polgar asked Pastora about the bombing, said Prado, was whether he had solved it. Pastora said no.

But Pastora did say in a Christic Institute deposition that "it is apparent that the responsibility falls in the hands of some officials of the U.S. government, either from Oliver North's group or certain sectors of the CIA."

Harrington also arranged for Polgar to interview two reporters from Costa Rica's English-language newspaper, the *Tico Times*. Again, Polgar was not interested in hard facts. "His questions were subjective, what we thought about Pastora and Hull," said reporter Beth Hawkins. "Polgar didn't want to hear anything specific—dates, evidence, sources." Nor did he ask about La Penca.

Polgar's question to the reporters about Hull and cocaine trafficking suggested what side of the investigation Polgar was on. "He asked, 'Don't you think it would be absurd for a conservative American rancher to smuggle drugs?'" Hawkins said. Afterward the *Tico Times* reporters were debriefed by the embassy's Harrington about what they told Polgar.

Besides contra leader Brooklyn Rivera, *In These Times* could not determine who else Polgar interviewed during his short stay. But the fact that La Penca and drug trafficking aren't topics at the hearings indicates the selective nature of Polgar's investigation.

Ironically, the few questions panelists have asked about La Penca at the hearings have uncovered evidence linking the bombing to North. The night of the bombing, the CIA station chief in Costa Rica, Hull and Robert Owen, North's liaison to the contras, were together in Costa Rica. Owen told the House-Senate panel. Owen said North had ordered him to go to Costa Rica a few days before the bombing, and Owen left the country the next day. "I was as shocked as everyone else," Owen said.

Despite all of the hard evidence that points to U.S. government involvement in the bombing, the panelists so far have not asked any probing questions about the matter. Instead, the panelists have allowed Calero, Secord and Owen to characterize the Christic Institute lawsuit as a "fairytale," and the reporters as "worse than communists."

Polgar must be happy as a pig in a pen. ☐ Vince Bielski and Dennis Bernstein are covering ReaganGate for *In These Times*. Connie Blitt and Lloyd Jansen contributed to this article.

Fetal laws

Continued from page 3

the number of black mothers failed to receive prenatal care as did white mothers.

Similarly, low baby birthweight afflicted nearly 7 percent of all babies born in the U.S. Infants weighing 5.5 pounds or less were almost 40 times more likely to die during their first four weeks of life than the normal birthweight baby. Yet black infants were more than twice as likely to be born with low birthweight than white infants.

No single answer fully explains the racial discrepancies found in prenatal care and low birthweight. But the National Academy of Science's finding that poorly educated mothers and "factors typical of socioeconomic disadvantage" were partly to

blame for infant morbidity. Those facts raise the ugly possibility that prosecution for negligent fetal injuries could be focused largely on poor, non-white mothers.

Doctors as cops: Still another complication in the fetal rights debate is the role of the physician. Dr. Kathline Toomey, a physician-attorney at Walter Reed Hospital with a specialty in fetal alcohol effects, fears that physicians will be expected to notify state authorities of incidents of fetal harm. "Regulations ordering doctors to play policemen or risk the possibility that they could be wrongly accusing a mother of fetal abuse," declares Toomey, "would be met with tremendous resistance within the medical community."

Toomey also wonders how serious state officials and courts would be in permitting

prosecution or civil law suits against women who smoke or drink alcohol while pregnant. Premature births and low birthweight babies are 20 to 69 percent more common in women who smoke at least one pack of cigarettes a day, according to the American Medical Association. Alcoholic women consuming eight to 10 drinks a day can cause serious damage to the fetus, usually resulting in a retarded child. But only two ounces of alcohol a day during the first and second trimester of pregnancy can also hurt the fetus, says Toomey. She asks whether society would really allow the "moderate" social drinker to be prosecuted.

Even if legal action were brought, Toomey warns, negligence would be difficult to prove. "Each woman's body is different; what would be an acceptable amount of alcohol for one pregnant woman could cause trouble for another," she explains. "What's more, it often takes a woman eight weeks to learn positively that she's pregnant. Should she be prosecuted for acts damaging the fetus at that time?"

Despite the legal and medical problems associated with fetal protection laws, state courts and legislatures continue to recognize fetal rights. Illinois and Minnesota, for example, recently rewrote their criminal codes to include the fetus within the homicide laws. A bill in the Maryland state house would fine and/or imprison any pregnant woman who failed to get a prenatal checkup ordered by her physician.

Abortion and distortion: Taking a prominent role lobbying on behalf of fetal protection legislation are anti-abortion organizations. Judy Brown, president of the American Life League, promotes fetal pro-

tection laws, believing they will "bring dignity and respect to unborn life." Brown and other pro-life advocates hope that fetal protection laws ultimately will lead the Supreme Court to overturn *Roe vs. Wade*—the landmark case legalizing abortion. The goal, explains Brown, is to exploit the inconsistency of a legal system that permits the destruction of the fetus through an abortion but prosecutes women for negligent acts to their unborn child.

But Paltrow says that although fetal protection laws are an attempt to undermine abortion rights, those same laws may increase the chances that women may decide to abort. "A pregnant woman fearing prosecution," she explains, "may choose an abortion rather than carry a possibly injured fetus to term." Some health-care experts worry that the fear of criminal prosecution or civil action will discourage women from seeking prenatal care.

The ACLU and its supporters would protect women and their unborn children, using massive prenatal education campaigns and laws that put the focus of legal rights on women and not their fetuses. But feminist attorney Janet Gallagher warns that the "anti-abortion movement's use of fetal protection laws to further its own political agenda" casts doubt over the idea that common ground on this issue can be found. Anti-abortion groups' insistence on making "every embryo a symbolic litmus test for the idea of fetal personhood" frustrates compromise solutions, complains Gallagher. □

Rex B. Wingerter is a Washington-based attorney and frequent contributor to *In These Times*. A longer version of this article has appeared in the *ABA Journal*.

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JESUS AS A FREE SPEECH VICTIM

Trial by Terror 2000 Years Ago

By Clifford J. Durr

Introduction by Corliss Lamont

A New Basic Pamphlet (No. 26)

Very few people have thought deeply about the free speech and civil liberties implications in the persecution and execution of Jesus. Yet he stands out as the most illustrious civil liberties victim in the history of religion. Mr. Durr, relying on the four gospels of the New Testament, tells the story simply and persuasively, showing that the priests, Pharisees and business interests all wanted to get rid of Jesus because of his outspoken attacks upon them and his opposition to the Establishment of his day. Thus the Bible itself reveals that the vigilante treatment of Jesus constituted a typical civil liberties case with the issues of freedom of speech, opinion, worship and due process of law all directly involved.

Durr's provocative essay shows that civil libertarians throughout America and the world can claim Jesus as a fighting comrade and dauntless hero in the great cause of free speech, which today as ever is in serious jeopardy. Jesus carried on the far-famed tradition established by the foremost civil liberties martyr of philosophy, Socrates in ancient Greece.

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By David Moberg

THE HEFTY UNION CONTINGENT IN THE APRIL 25 march against U.S. foreign policy in South Africa and Central America made one thing clear: the Cold-War mentality is steadily losing its deathly grip on the U.S. labor movement. Attacks on the march from the most militant anti-communists, who reduce foreign policy issues to East-West ideological battles, largely backfired. Now the forces advocating a more flexible set of policies, less obsessed with fancied U.S. national security interests and more concerned with workers' progress, are in a position to further chip away at the foundations of traditional labor conservatism.

Yet even if union members' sentiment and multinational business realities beg for accelerated change, the pace will probably be slow. Ideological hardliners hold most key AFL-CIO posts on foreign policy, which means more to them and to AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland than to most dissenting union leaders. The federation spends more annually on foreign than domestic affairs, if one counts labor's foreign institutes, such as AIFLD (American Institute for Free Labor Development), that are almost entirely funded by the U.S. government. Also, the deference shown the AFL-CIO president and the desire for labor unity militate against any frontal challenge to Kirkland.

The April demonstrations initiated by a coalition of 24 union leaders and several prominent clergy came under fire from Kirkland, Bricklayers President John Joyce (and his aide Joel Freedman), American Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker and others. They attacked the participation in the march by groups sympathetic to "Marxist-Leninist guerrillas in El Salvador and...the Sandinista government," with the most extreme charging that labor unions were being manipulated by shadowy left-wingers as Communists used popular front groups in the past.

Furious reaction: Off the record, foreign policy staff in the unions that endorsed the march—including many of the country's largest—variously described officials in their unions as "furious" and "pissed off" at the "viciousness" of the "crude" and "ludicrous" "redbaiting" attacks. But on the record, they downplayed divisions.

Indeed, nothing about the march and the debate—such as the duel of the *New York Times* ads between Shanker and AFSCME's New York director Stanley Hill—surfaced in the AFL-CIO Executive Council meeting that followed the march. "Everybody has run off to their gopher holes," said National Labor Committee director David Dyson. "There was this terrific bloodletting, and now people are laying low."

But privately some of the march supporters were delighted with the attack—and its failure to dislodge a single union sponsor.

"I think they shot themselves in the foot with their stuff," said Fred Solowey, coordinator of the Washington Area Labor Committee on Central America. "The right-wing lunatic fringe really hurt itself. From what I heard a number of presidents switched from asking what are we doing with some of these groups [in the march] to why are we being attacked."

Ironically, many of the suspect left-wing groups had been welcome participants in labor's big Solidarity Day march. But some of the anti-intervention groups played into the hands of labor's Cold Warriors and



AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland opposed an April demonstration against U.S. policy in South Africa and Central America.

LABOR

Union Cold-War foreign policy stand is thawing

threatened the march by their tactically ill-calculated bid to include speakers with ties to the Sandinistas and the principal Salvadoran labor federation, which AIFLD has been fighting hard to destroy.

The underlying controversy cropped up again shortly after the march within the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), which opposes contra aid. AIFLD director William Doherty, working through his CLUW allies, approached some top officers about CLUW helping to establish a Latin American union women's group. But at their May 1 meeting several of CLUW's 14 officers strongly opposed the move as giving legitimacy to AIFLD's conservative agenda. The issue never came to the full CLUW board, and CLUW President Joyce Miller now says that CLUW will not cooperate with Doherty's plan.

Divisive losers: "When you raise the ante and you don't make it, you're the loser," one major union staff person said of the march opponents. "That's what happened here. There's a weakness the Social Democrat, USA, forces have shown. If I were them, I'd be very nervous. They've made careful use of their leveraging of their power in the past. The other thing it says is that under Tom Kahn [the new AFL-CIO international affairs director, a Social Democrat who served as Kirkland's aide before] they're going to tend to take greater risks and make foreign policy a potentially divisive issue at a time when a lot of people would like to see the Federation playing a unifying role."

The attack has focused new attention on the key role in union foreign policy of the small network of Social Democrats, the conservative splinter of the old Socialist Party, that overlaps labor and a variety of neoconservative fronts, such as Prodemca. A pro-contra lobbying group with Joyce and Doherty on its board, Prodemca received a grant from fundraiser Carl "Spitz" Channell's National Endowment for the Preservation of

Liberty—and later returned it.

The previous generation of Cold War labor foreign policy operatives preferred secrecy, which often led to shadowy ties with the CIA. "But Kahn thinks he can win and persuade people," one craft union staffer commented. Two years ago the international affairs department and AIFLD greatly increased their junkets to Central America for union staff and state or city labor officials, regional U.S. meetings to inculcate the AIFLD worldview and distribution of publications. "I think Kahn is exactly wrong," he continued. "Their days are numbered because people are beginning to notice what they do."

Increasingly, since former AFL-CIO President George Meany's death, international unions have asserted their right to an independent foreign policy—and many not only differ on Central America but also take strong stands for divestment from South Africa (the AFL-CIO supports sanctions but has taken no position on divestment), against

Even if union members' sentiment and multinational business realities beg for change, the pace will be slow.

aid to UNITA in Angola (the conservative union establishment is friendly to Jonas Savimbi) and for military spending cuts and arms control.

Debate continued: Two years ago delegates to the AFL-CIO convention had the first full-fledged open debate on foreign policy in the organization's history on a compromise resolution that criticized the Sandinistas but rejected a military solution. Although the convention this October will be preoccupied with presidential politics, several major liberal unions will push for a stronger position.

AFL-CIO spokesman Rex Hardesty said, "As long as Looney Tunes like Ollie North are in charge of foreign policy, I can't imagine that the [foreign policy] issue won't come up, but I can't imagine anyone would disagree on that." Yet there may be profound disagreement over whether to criticize the procedure or the substance of contra support.

Despite the divisions, unions agree on some foreign policy stands, such as the boycott of Shell for its operation in South Africa. They also agree on trade legislation that would deny trade privileges to countries that violate minimal international union rights. Yet John Cavanagh of the International Labor Rights Working Group that initiated the idea said that for a couple of years the AFL-CIO sympathized with but did not directly support the rights provisos. Then after legislation passed, one of the primary countries the AFL-CIO wanted deprived of trade preference was Nicaragua, even though there was already a trade embargo. Reagan was happy to comply.

Multinational unity: As unions belatedly try to work globally with other unions to confront multinationals, they may find themselves pushed toward a different foreign policy. A staff representative of the Communications Workers, which recently joined a coalition to protest IBM's phony divestment from South Africa as part of its international, multi-union IBM organizing campaign, said, "The more we start to deal with European unions, there will be subtle and not-so-subtle efforts to change AFL-CIO foreign policy."

The bad image of the AFL-CIO in much of the Third World and Europe already hurts. The major South African black trade federation, COSATU, refuses any AFL-CIO aid or ties because of its history of attempting to influence unions. But in most cases big unions will act independently of the AFL-CIO through international federations.

Though Kirkland clearly recognizes that higher wages overseas would help U.S. workers, the blindered anti-communism of AFL-CIO foreign policy has often led to weakening workers overseas, ultimately hurting American workers as well. But a big change in AFL-CIO foreign policy will only come with a new president. And if Kirkland were to step down soon, it is not clear that any likely contender would represent dramatic change.

Labour Party faces an uphill battle as Britons go to the polls

By Dilip Hiro

LONDON

PRESIDENT REAGAN DID SOME ELECTIONEERING late last month for a close political ally. But it was not U.S. voters that the president intended to influence when he expressed "admiration for the way [British] Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher handles not only domestic but international affairs." And in stumping for the Conservative prime minister, Reagan also made reference to the "grievous errors" of the opposition Labour Party's policy of unilateral nuclear disarmament.

When the June 11 elections were announced in mid-May it did not appear that any such endorsements would be necessary for the Conservatives. At that time, Labour was trailing by 13-14 points in the polls (see *In These Times*, May 20). Within two weeks it narrowed the gap to 5-8 points, a remarkable feat.

The upbeat mood of the Labour Party was captured by its leader, 45-year-old Neil Kinnock. "We are moving from the foothills toward further heights," he said. "What we have started is a rapid but easily sustainable pace."

The upswing was achieved by a well-planned strategy, a highly professional election machine and a superbly telegenic leader whose youthful passion, vigor and oratory come through so well that Thatcher has repeatedly declined his offer of a face-to-face debate on television.

Election objectives: The main tasks of Labour were to rally party supporters, re-

claim those who deserted its ranks in the last election and capture a majority of the first-time voters. In the 1983 poll many traditional Labour voters switched to the Alliance of the Social Democratic Party and the Liberal Party. The SDP was formed in 1981 by Labour leaders who felt that the party had become too left-wing.

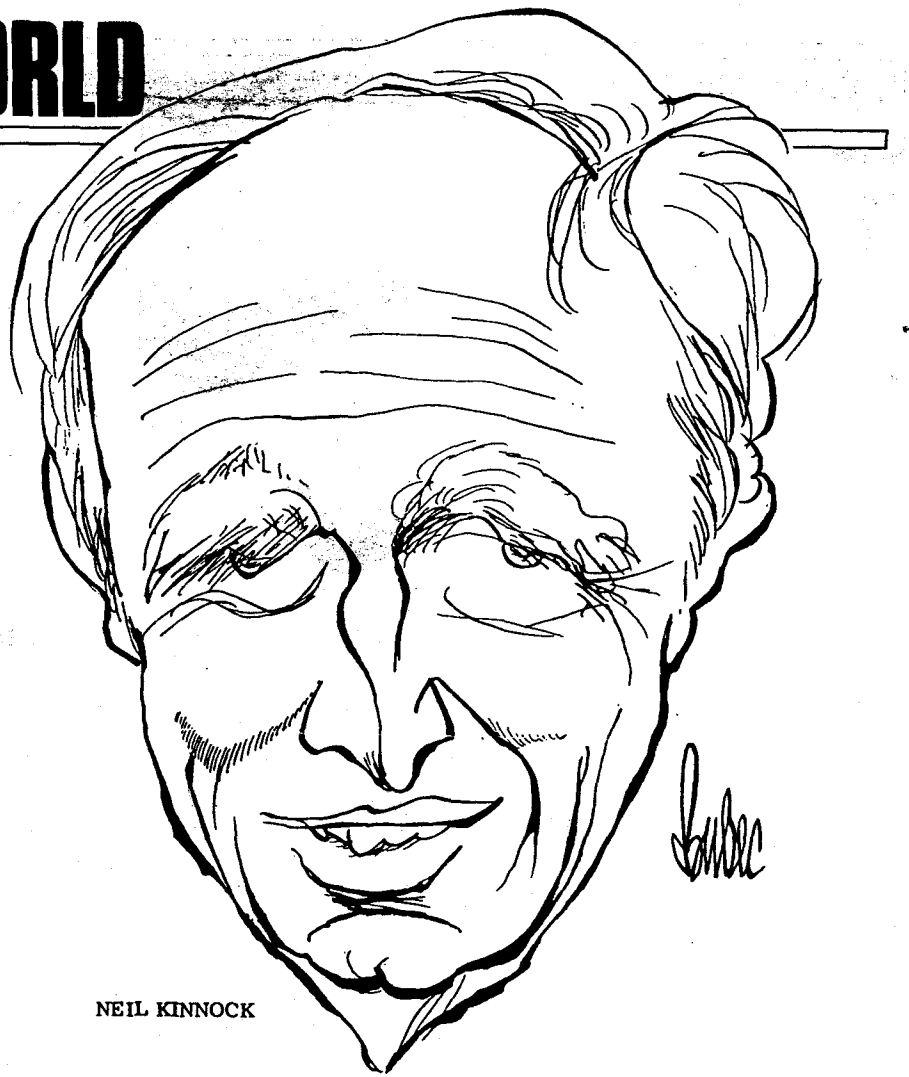
To accomplish these objectives Labour devised a two-track strategy. It launched a concerted attack on the eight-year-old rec-

BRITAIN

ord of the Thatcher government on jobs, health service, law and order and "deindustrialization of Britain." It also presented Kinnock as a future prime minister, confident and decisive as Thatcher, yet, unlike her, warm, compassionate and immensely likable.

During the first stage of the campaign Labour tried to project Kinnock's leadership qualities to the forefront of the party's mass appeal. For this it concentrated on television, partly because Kinnock is a superb performer on TV and partly because the newspapers are predominantly right-wing and anti-Labour.

Labour devoted the first party political broadcast solely to Kinnock. It outlined his humble origins in a Welsh coal miner's home, his university education, his marriage and family. It ended with the assessment of his qualities by past and present party leaders. "Like Gorbachov," said Denis Healey, the party's foreign affairs spokesman, "Kinnock



NEIL KINNOCK

Bubler/ROTHCO

has a nice smile but steel teeth." The broadcast was so slick and effective that the party's Conservative rivals were left sniping at Labour for stooping to Madison Avenue techniques and introducing "presidential style" into British politics. A double irony.

This broadcast helped to dislodge the Alliance as a serious competitor to Labour. The Alliance had won 26 percent of the popular vote against Labour's 28 percent in the last parliamentary election. So long as Alliance leadership could present Labour as red it was comparatively easy for the Alliance to pose as a serious alternative to the Conservative Party. But when Labour was shown to be led by a moderate, likable family man from the Welsh valleys who scarcely uttered the word "Labour," much less "socialism," then surely there was no room for the Alliance in the mainstream of British politics.

The opinion polls supported this. As *In These Times* went to press Labour had been gaining ground at the expense of the Alliance, which had been pushed below 20 percent. Labour's surefootedness contrasted with the Conservatives' confusion on such issues as housing, education and unemployment.

The defense offensive: Things went well for Labour until both Conservative and Alliance leaders rounded on Kinnock on his party's defense policy. It visualizes a Labour government cancelling the Trident nuclear submarine program, decommissioning the current Polaris nuclear submarine system and asking the U.S. to remove its cruise missiles and other nuclear weapons from Britain.

When Kinnock argued that it was "not tenable" that the Soviets would invade and occupy the free nations of Western Europe Thatcher called it irresponsible to base Britain's defense policy on hopes.

Labour's Denis Healey made the point that "The idea that the Russians would turn Western Europe into a radioactive desert, risking the destruction of a large part of their own population from fallout and radiation, is absolutely ridiculous."

But the question that Labour's opponents have been throwing at its leaders is: "What would you do when faced with a nuclear

blackmail by Moscow?" Healey's reply was that in that case the U.S. would intercede and challenge the Soviets. Defense Minister George Younger retorted, "If Healey is to throw away all nuclear weapons without anything in return, he cannot just leave it in the air that our forces and everybody are out there with nothing to protect them unless he is prepared to go to Washington and say, 'Please, although we threw you out, come and bail us out, and produce some nuclear weapons.'"

Kinnock then tried to dispell such attacks by linking Labour defense policy to the international developments that are pointing increasingly toward a denuclearized Europe.

In any event, it was better that defense, where Labour is most vulnerable, came to the forefront during the second phase of the campaign, and not the last.

The home stretch: In the final stage of the campaign it was up to the Labour strategists to turn the focus on social and economic issues of unemployment running at 13 percent; degenerating national health service; deteriorating schools, colleges and universities; and a soaring crime rate.

When *In These Times* went to press, polls showed the Conservative vote at over 40 percent. Even when the Conservative campaign made a scratchy start—with its smear tactics failing to hit home and its shining new policies on schools and housing falling to pieces—the Conservative column continued to claim the loyalty of over 40 percent of the electorate, a magical figure that Labour had yet to reach.

On top of that the June 11 election date was tailor-made for the Conservatives. Thatcher would be spending the last two days of the campaign in Venice to attend the summit of seven industrial nations. She would be playing the stateswoman to the hilt.

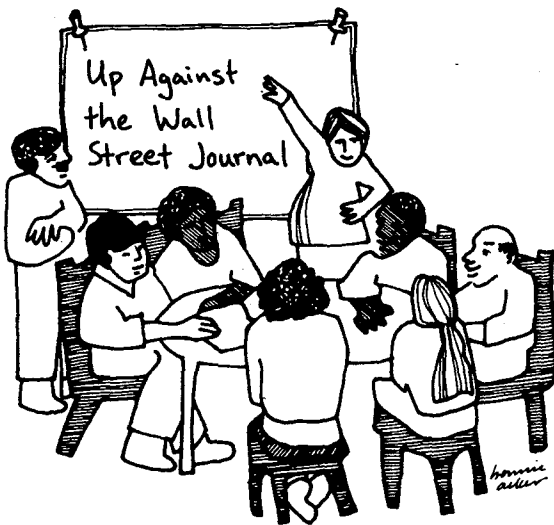
In short, despite the early gains made by Labour, and despite the fact that three Britons out of five are against the Conservatives, Labour faced an uphill task to stop Thatcher from winning a third consecutive term in office.

Dilip Hiro writes frequently for *In These Times* from London.

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By Diana Johnstone

THE HERO OF THE 1974 "CARNATION REVOLUTION" that restored political freedom to Portugal has been officially branded a "terrorist." Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho was one of 48 defendants convicted last month on the disturbingly vague charge of "terrorist association," at the end of a long show trial in Lisbon. He was sentenced to 15 years in prison.

The ever-cheerful "Otelo"—as he is popularly known in Portugal—took the news of the unexpectedly harsh sentence with his usual good spirits. The tragedy of Otelo may not be so much the personal downfall of one who loved the revolution perhaps not wisely but too well, but of the revolution itself—and the idea of revolution in the '80s.

If Otelo's morale is still high, it may have something to do with a clear conscience. Whatever his mistakes, he never sold out his ideals, never let himself be bought off. After organizing the bloodless coup of April 25, 1974, Otelo chose consistently to "serve the people" rather than to seek personal promotion.

Otelo's political consciousness came from his experience in the Portuguese army combatting the liberation movements in Portugal's African colonies, especially Mozambique. He was one of a group of young Portuguese officers who identified with the Third World revolution they were sent to fight. This identification was heightened because their own country, with its poverty and illiteracy, was the closest in Europe to the Third World. The coup led to all of Portugal's colonies receiving independence.

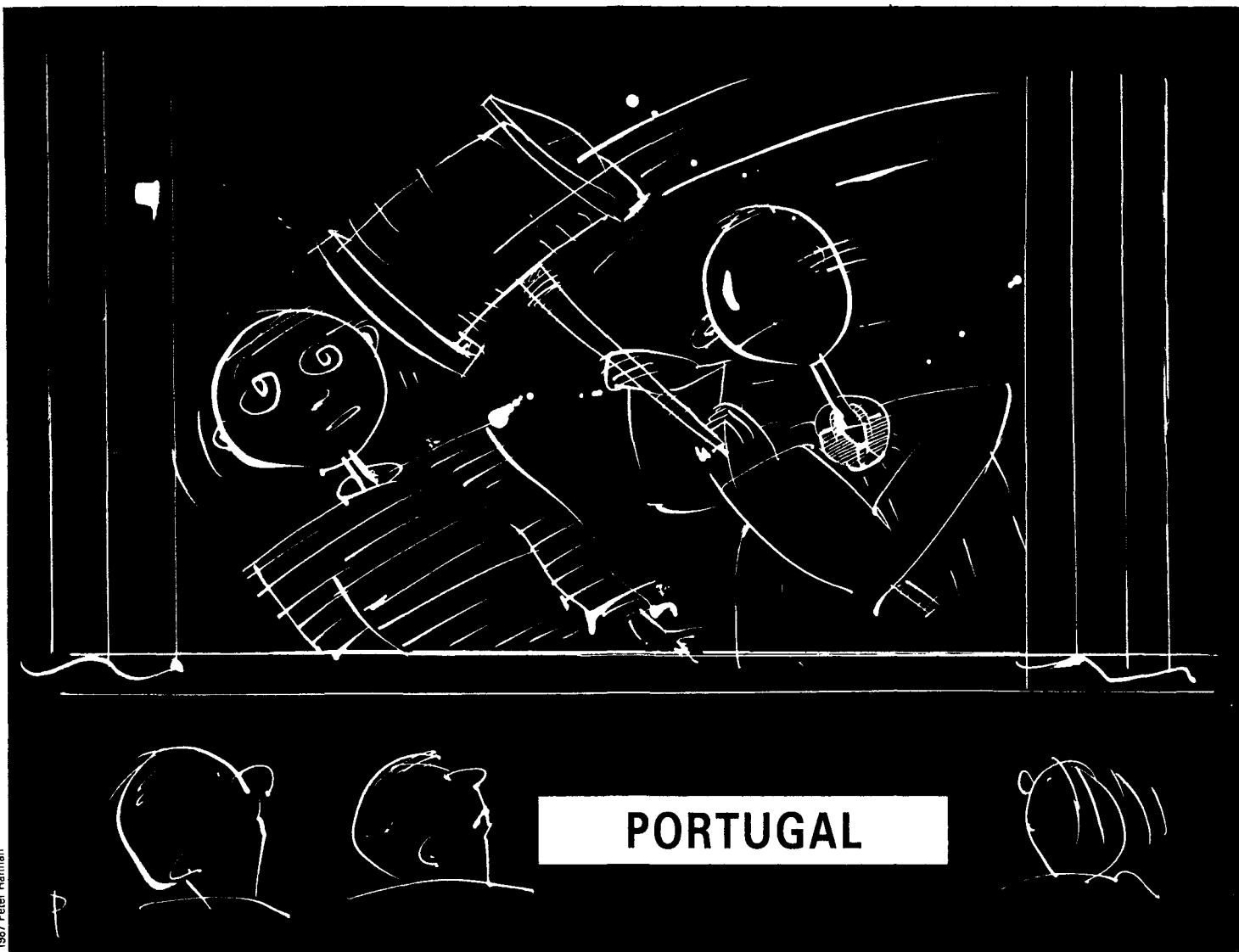
In the months following the revolt, Otelo used his military command not to seize power for himself but as a shield allowing the poor peasants in the province of Alentejo to carry out grassroots land reform. The big property owners have never forgiven him.

Hero takes a fall: By 1976 Otelo had left government ranks and the counterrevolution was underway. How far it would go was unclear. The CIA was organizing a Portuguese "contra" force, recruiting agents from the secret police that had been dissolved by the revolution. In 1977, Otelo wrote several pages of what he called a "global project" to free the country a second time in case of a right-wing coup. His idea was to organize a people's liberation army.

When he was arrested in June 1984, police seized those notes found in his home. They were the only documentary evidence to support the charges of "terrorist association." Aside from the fact that they proved absolutely nothing about "terrorist association," the notes were out of date. Without embarrassment, Otelo explained in court what he had in mind when he wrote them 10 years ago.

Otelo's political views and activities were never a secret. Having won 18 percent of the vote in the 1976 elections—the first after a new constitution went into effect—he remained the most popular figure of the non-Communist left. Otelo felt it was his mission to bring together as an ongoing political force all the grassroots revolutionary hopes that had blossomed with the "Carnation Revolution." To this end he founded his own political party in 1980, the Front for Popular Unity (FUP), which never amounted to more than a far-left fringe group. Three years ago, many FUP militants were arrested.

Guilt by "association": The point of the Lisbon trial was to convict Otelo of "terrorist association" by proving that his FUP was a



Lisbon show trial and the tragedy of Otelo

cover for a group called the Popular Front for April 25 (FP-25), which advocated and practiced violence. Thus nearly 70 people from the two groups were tried together in one big bunch.

The seriousness of the charges was demonstrated primarily by building a special security courtroom, complete with bulletproof glass cages for the defendants. The implication was obvious: if people have to have a special security courtroom equipped for them, they must be very dangerous and, of course, guilty.

But Otelo denied having anything to do with FP-25 and criticized its approach. The FP-25, led by Goben Lopes, had claimed a number of violent actions.

The past decade or so has provided ample evidence in several countries that the shat-

The charges were based on a law against "terrorist association," which seems to be part of a right-wing trend to unite "the West" in low-intensity war against everybody else.

tering of revolutionary hopes produces a certain number of "strays" who can be picked up by extremist groups. Those groups are in turn open to infiltration and manipulation by rightists and secret police who want to use "leftist terrorism" to wipe out what remains of revolutionary sympathy.

The FP-25 appears to be a classic example.

As in other contemporary "terrorism" trials, the prosecution depended heavily on "penitents"—the current, vaguely religious term for stool pigeons. The star witness against Otelo was a post office employee named Macedo Correia, known to the press as "the poet." Imaginative, with a lyric bent, Correia has written a best seller, *The Ashes of a Lost Era*, describing how he turned into a terrorist. The notion that revolutionary aspirations must lead to terrorist crime has a certain appeal in a period when people are lapsing into apathy.

Crime and ponderment: An oddity of the trial was that no member of FP-25 had ever been tried and convicted for any of the real crimes, including murder, committed in the organization's name. Those who testified against Otelo all got off lightly, even though they were implicated in the worst real crimes of violence.

This is becoming a familiar procedure in "terrorist" trials: a self-confessed terrorist can get off lightly by helping to convict someone else—especially someone else against whom there is no other evidence.

The charges were based on a 1982 law against "terrorist association," which itself seems to be part of a right-wing trend to unite "the West" in low-intensity war against everybody else, suspected of harboring the new enemy, "terrorism." Moreover, the June 1984 arrests were used to create a climate favorable to the passage the following month of a new Internal Security Bill. This bill pledged Portugal's Internal Security authorities to collaborate with "foreign secret services." The U.S. is widely believed to have had a hand in drafting the bill.

One of the character witnesses testifying for Otelo, Maj. Sousa e Castro, alluded to the success of right-wing officers in regaining control of the Portuguese armed forces from the coup's democratic officers. "When right-wing officers conspire together this is called a social meeting, while if they are left-wing it becomes a conspiracy," he observed.

The trial dragged on long after everyone seemed to have lost interest. The Portuguese people have been cured of the hopes they entertained in 1974. For years now, if workers are lucky enough to have jobs their big worry is when, or if, they will be paid. For distraction, people follow the soccer matches rather than politics. Portugal is back to normal, with local leaders bowing to the wishes of richer powers such as the U.S., West Germany and South Africa.

Bygone dreams: The trial and conviction of Otelo was not only a way of defeating and discrediting the idea of revolution in Portugal itself. It was also a way of severing one of the last emotionally powerful links between Europe and the Southern African states victimized by the increasingly devastating war of destruction waged by white South Africa against all its black neighbors. Otelo had rebelled against waging South Africa's proxy wars against the people of Angola and Mozambique—Portuguese colonies before the 1974 coup. But South Africa has found other proxies, UNITA in Angola and Renamo in Mozambique, with support in the U.S.—and in Portugal.

Otelo's many former fans in the European left have lost interest. The Portuguese proved too disorganized, too easy-going and too poor to carry through the revolution. Otelo, as he admits readily, has always been naive. Many of Otelo's former friends have grown sophisticated and cynical in the '80s and are embarrassed by reminders of their earlier revolutionary enthusiasm. In Otelo, that enthusiasm seems still intact. It is widely speculated that President Mario Soares will grant him a pardon. In or out of prison, Otelo is an embarrassment. □

IN THESE TIMES JUNE 10-23, 1987 11

To control the present is to control the past, said Orwell. And to control the past is to control the future.

The Reagan administration and its congressional allies are doing their best to control the present investigations into Reagan's secret foreign operations. They're trying, with some success, to limit how far back to look, what areas are to be discussed, how deep the questions will go. The hoped-for result is a rewrite of history.

With the passive acquiescence of the Democrats and the media, the new history is being forced on the books: the contra army is actually a "resistance" to a foreign occupation; Congress turned its back on its commitment to the Nicaraguan rebels; the administration, confused by ambiguous interference from the legislature, did its best to stay within the law.

Luckily, one doesn't need to rely on the official story. Compiling an independent record of U.S. policy toward Nicaragua, one finds an artificial paramilitary force, planned and paid for in Washington, that Congress was always reluctant to support. And an administra-

tion that was bent on having its way, no matter what laws had to be broken or what lies had to be told.

One of the most important contributions to a true history of the contra war is the National Security Archive's *The Chronology*, a detailed record of the events Reagan and Co. would rather have you forget. It covers most of the events on the following timeline, which attempts to provide a graphic context for the mass of information that has come out so far.

In particular, the timeline shows the succession of laws passed by Congress, known as the Boland Amendments, which unambiguously forbade the administration from trying to overthrow the government of Nicaragua, and the equally unambiguous defiance of those laws by Reagan's imperial presidency.

History is the best antidote for the current disinformation. Perhaps taking control of the past can lead to a future without covert interventions.

Anti-intervention a difficult climb

By Richard Ryan

WASHINGTON

FOR ALL THE TALK OF THE LEFT'S RESURGENCE, liberals in Congress have been unable recently to scuttle the Reagan administration's interventionist foreign policy in Central America.

All recent legislative efforts, including an attempt earlier this year to freeze unreleased contra aid, have faltered. Last month liberal Democrats in the House tried to attach three modest amendments to the Defense Authorization Bill, proposals that implicitly recog-

Compiled by Jim Naureckas

1979

July 1979 - Sandinistas take power in Nicaragua.

1980

Fall 1980 - President Carter authorizes a CIA program to funnel \$1 million to Nicaraguan political opposition, while continuing overt aid to the private sector in Nicaragua.

1981

March 9, 1981 - President Reagan authorizes the CIA to undertake covert activities against Nicaragua.

Nov. 23, 1981 - Reagan allocates \$19 million to the CIA to establish a paramilitary opposition to the Sandinistas.

1982

March 14, 1982 - The Nicaraguan government declares a state of emergency following acts of CIA-sponsored sabotage.

Dec. 22, 1982 - Congress passes its first version of the Boland Amendment, barring CIA and Pentagon from spending money for the purpose of "overthrowing the government of Nicaragua or provoking a military exchange between Nicaragua and Honduras."

January

February

March

April

May

June

1983

April 4, 1983 - "Commander Suicide" of the main contra group, the FDN, tells reporters, "We're not going to stop the transport of arms...until we cut the head off the Sandinistas."

April 24, 1983 - A five-member delegation from House Select Committee on Intelligence travels to Central America to investigate whether the administration is violating the Boland Amendment.

June 1983 - Reagan approves "Operation Elephant Herd" to bypass potential congressional restrictions on contra aid, according to CBS News.

1984

Jan. 2, 1984 - FDN spokesman Edgar Chamorro is told to take credit for CIA mining of Nicaraguan harbors, according to Chamorro.

Jan. 11, 1984 - Kissinger Commission releases its report, which warns against "the consolidation of a Marxist-Leninist regime in Managua," and calls the contras "one of the incentives working in favor of a negotiated settlement" in Nicaragua.

April 1984 - Saudi Arabia asked by CIA to support contras, according to the *Washington Post*.

April 26, 1984 - CIA Chief William Casey apologizes for not adequately notifying the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence of CIA mining of harbors.

May 1984 - CIA introduces Oliver North to contras, according to Chamorro, telling them, "You will never be abandoned."

June 1984 - Congress rejects administration request for \$21 million for the contras.

July 6, 1984 - King Fahd of Saudi Arabia gives his first monthly contribution of \$1 million to the contras.

1985

Jan. 22, 1985 - Felix Rodriguez meets with George Bush about wanting to go to El Salvador. Rodriguez later heads the El Salvador air resupply mission.

Feb. 6, 1985 - North meets with Ret. Gen. John Singlaub to discuss fund-raising from foreign governments.

Feb. 11, 1985 - Reagan meets with King Fahd. Afterward Fahd doubles his monthly contribution to the contras.

Feb. 21, 1985 - Reagan says U.S. policy is to make Nicaragua say "uncle."

March 1985 - A memo to North from Spitz Channell's fund-raising organization discusses the possibility of major donations for the contras in exchange for "one quiet moment with the president."

March 14, 1985 - Singlaub tells North he is supplying contras with trainers.

March 16, 1985 - National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane approves North's plan for contra fund-raising.

April 24, 1985 - Congress rejects request for \$14 million in covert aid to the contras.

April 28, 1985 - Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega travels to Soviet Union as part of a 20-day tour of Eastern and Western Europe.

May 1985 - Singlaub sells contras \$5 million in arms.

May 1, 1985 - Reagan declares an embargo against Nicaragua.

1986

January 1986 - North and Second begin paying contra leader Arturo Cruz \$7,000 a month.

January 1986 - North sets up secret communications network and Swiss bank accounts for contras.

Feb. 27, 1986 - Proceeds from an arms shipment to Iran are diverted to the contras.

March 20, 1986 - Congress rejects \$100 million in military aid for contras.

March 22, 1986 - A cross-border raid by the Sandinistas against contra bases in Honduras—similar to 50 or 60 raids in the past six months—is called an "invasion" by the Reagan administration.

April 4, 1986 - North writes a memo for the president saying profits from Iran arms sales will go to the contras.

May 1986 - Singlaub meets with Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams. Singlaub says that Abrams agreed to help him solicit funds, but later told him the solicitation would be handled "at the highest level."

June 24, 1986 - George Shultz has three-hour meeting with the Sultan of Brunei.

June 25, 1986 - Congress approves \$100 million in military aid for the contras.

June 27, 1986 - The International Court of Justice rules U.S. support for contras violates international law.

sm still faces up Capitol Hill

nized that the administration's regional strategy involves more than simply contra funding.

The first amendment, introduced by Rep. Barbara Boxer (D-CA), would have required congressional approval in each case where American facilities in Honduras were used by the contras. Though Boxer's office argued the proposal was a reasonable request for accountability, the amendment was defeated 258-165.

The second initiative, from Rep. Thomas Foglietta (D-PA), would have eliminated \$4.1

million for the construction of new permanent barracks at the U.S. air base in Palmerola, Honduras. (Current lodgings are standard Army constructions made from plywood and canvas; when they were built three years ago the Army claimed they would last a decade.) A staffer in Foglietta's office told *In These Times* that the congressman was particularly concerned about the long-term American presence in Honduras. The Foglietta proposal was soundly defeated 294-126.

One of the many Democrats who voted against the Foglietta amendment was Armed Services Committee Chairman Les Aspin (D-WI), who also voted against the other two initiatives. An Aspin staffer, who was close-lipped about his boss' reasons for opposing the other amendments, had much to say

about the Foglietta amendment: "Our servicemen shouldn't be punished because you don't like the contras. If you're describing Palmerola as a base of contra operations, that's horseshit." Aspin's aide went on to lament the terrible conditions that awaited American personnel in Honduras.

Congressional sources believed that the amendment brought by Rep. Robert Mrazek (D-NY), which would have prohibited any U.S. troops from operating within 20 miles of the Nicaraguan border, stood the best chance of passing.

Clearly hoping to woo moderates, the congressman's staffers took care to emphasize the narrow scope of Mrazek's amendment. One of his staffers took issue with a characterization of the amendment as part of the effort to defeat the Reagan doctrine in Cen-

tral America. "This amendment is not an attempt to roll back the administration's policy. It is an attempt to ensure that American servicemen aren't drawn into the contra war." On May 20, however, the Mrazek proposal was defeated 225-197.

When told of the Mrazek staffers' position on the amendment, a human rights coordinator of the Coalition for a New Foreign Policy, Segundo Mercado-Llorens, replied, "They said that? That's outrageous! We've been fighting that mentality for years." But upon reflection he added, "In a sense Mrazek's people are right. They really weren't challenging the administration's policy. You're left with the accepted wisdom on the Hill: Nicaragua is repressive and El Salvador is democratic, which is absurd."

Continued on page 22

RAGATE CALENDAR

July August September October November December

July 17, 1983 - The Contadora group, a four-nation Latin American peace organization, meets for the first time.

July 21, 1983 - Israel is reported to be giving weapons captured in Lebanon to contras, at U.S. request.

October 1983 - The CIA prepares a manual for the contras advocating "neutralizing" Nicaraguan civilians.

Oct. 9, 1983 - The Reagan-appointed Kissinger Commission tours Central America in preparation for a report on U.S. regional policy; Oliver North serves as escort.

Oct. 10, 1983 - CIA operatives attack fuel-storage tanks at Corinto, Nicaragua.

Dec. 8, 1983 - Congress says that no more than \$24 million can be spent by the CIA, the Pentagon or any agency "involved in intelligence activities" for the purpose of "supporting, directly or indirectly, military or paramilitary operations in Nicaragua by any nation, group, organization, movement or individual."

Dec. 9, 1983 - "Operation Elephant Herd" is carried out: \$12 million in military equipment is declared to be worthless and given to the contras. The administration does not count the materiel as part of the \$24 million spending limit.

September 1984 - Reagan authorizes North to establish "private aid network" for the contras, according to the *Wall Street Journal*.

Sept. 1, 1984 - A helicopter from Civilian Military Assistance—a U.S. private aid group—crashes in Nicaragua, killing two.

Oct. 12, 1984 - Congress passes its second version of the Boland Amendment, which says that "no funds available" to "any agency or entity of the United States involved in intelligence activities" may be spent "for the purpose or would have the effect of supporting, directly or indirectly, military or paramilitary operations in Nicaragua."

July 1985 - Lewis Tambs, before leaving to become ambassador to Costa Rica, is told by North to open southern front for contras.

Aug. 15, 1985 - Congress approves \$27 million in non-lethal aid to contras. All other prohibitions remain in effect.

Sept. 12, 1985 - McFarlane assures Congress the NSC is complying with the Boland Amendment.

Oct. 17, 1985 - Reagan meets with contra fund-raiser Spitz Channell and a small group of donors, according to news reports.

Oct. 21, 1985 - McFarlane tells Congress the administration is not facilitating donations to the contras.

Nov. 28, 1985 - North begins contra resupply operation.

Dec. 4, 1985 - Congress amends the Boland Amendment to allow communications and advice for contras. Other prohibitions remain in effect.

Dec. 4, 1985 - Reagan replaces McFarlane with Adm. John Poindexter as national security adviser.

Dec. 6, 1985 - Channell begins transferring privately donated money to contras.

Aug. 6, 1986 - North lies to Congress about relationship with contras, Singlaub and Robert Owen. Poindexter tells him "well done."

Aug. 19, 1986 - The Sultan of Brunei transfers \$10 million to the wrong Swiss bank account.

Sept. 9, 1986 - North threatens the president of Costa Rica with a cut-off of U.S. funds if Costa Rica publicizes the secret air strip.

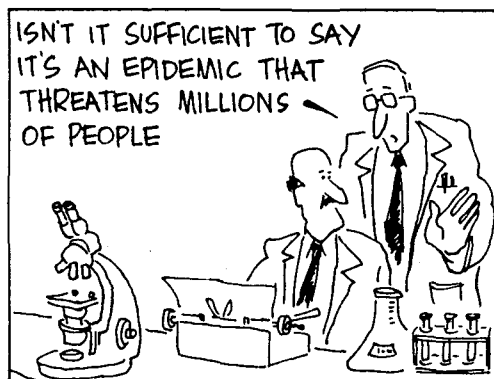
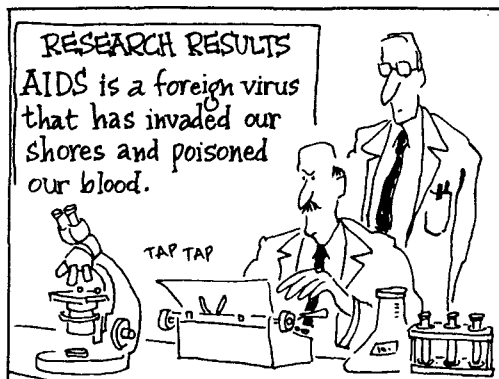
Oct. 1, 1986 - Boland Amendment expires.

Oct. 5, 1986 - Eugene Hasenfus' plane shot down while carrying arms to contras, leading to exposure of North's network.

Oct. 15, 1986 - Elliott Abrams tells Congress there was no government involvement with the Hasenfus flight.

Nov. 3, 1986 - *Al-Shiraa*, a Lebanese magazine, publishes reports of U.S. arms shipments to Iran.

Nov. 25, 1986 - Attorney General Edwin Meese discloses that funds from Iran arms sales were diverted to the contras.



AIDS plan merits thought, Reagan deserves scorn

The Reagan administration has been consistently retrograde in fighting the AIDS epidemic. In 1982 and 1983 it requested no funds at all, and since then has proposed about half of what the Public Health Service proposed and Congress finally appropriated. Now it is blocking efforts to educate people realistically about the disease's threats, advising adolescents in particular to "just say no" to sex.

Since March the administration has been paralyzed internally by a debate over AIDS testing, with Secretary of Education William Bennett advocating mandatory testing and Surgeon General C. Everett Koop calling for purely voluntary testing. In Congress and in the broader political arena, liberals and conservatives have lined up on either side of the issue, as if it were an ultimate test of faith.

But liberals would do well not to join the New Right in politicizing the AIDS issue. While the administration's initial proposals for mandatory testing were as unsatisfactory as they were vague, the president's proposal for testing that he made before the San Francisco AIDS Foundation May 31 may represent a significant compromise between Koop and Bennett.

"Routine testing": Reagan announced administration support for mandatory testing of immigrants and prisoners and for "routine testing" of couples applying for a marriage license and "for those who visit sexually transmitted disease or drug-abuse clinics." The president's proposals for testing were less ambitious than those previously suggested by Bennett and other conservatives. And according to Bennett, appearing on the June 1 *Nightline*, the replacement of "mandatory" by "routine" meant that the test would be given only with "informed consent." The test results would be "confidential," but not "anonymous."

There is ample precedent for screening out immigrants with infectious diseases, and AIDS is more infectious and dangerous than the diseases the Immigration and Naturalization Service presently tests for. But the administration's proposals for routine testing pose far more difficult questions.

It is important to distinguish between the different arguments against routine testing. Groups like the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) oppose testing primarily because they see it as an instrument of discrimination against persons with AIDS and as a violation of privacy. Their concern is justified, since such information, if released to insurance companies or employers, would likely lead to discrimination, and even with strong anti-discrimination statutes on the books, persons with AIDS would have difficulty winning redress. But states are trying to figure out ways to ensure confidentiality. In Minnesota, for instance, if a person with AIDS permits the health department to notify people he or she might have infected, the records of these names are destroyed after six months.

The violation of privacy that testing entails has to be weighed against the threat to another's life that failing to test and notify entails. The ACLU's "opposition to testing, admirable in its respect for privacy," Nat Hentoff wrote in his May 30 syndicated column, "also

results in violating the civil liberties of the unknowing victims of those who are victims of AIDS."

Some public health officials say that testing couples will not prevent the spread of AIDS, arguing that these couples are not likely to have the disease and, even if they do, the measures that they should take—"safe sex"—are no different than for those who are not infected. In short, what is needed is counselling and not testing.

Pro and con: But a recent study in California's Alameda County of blood samples of female marriage license applicants found that one out of every 200 women was infected with AIDS. (Women were sampled in order to rule out bisexual males.) This is a significant percentage. And, as one doctor contended at the recent Washington conference on AIDS, heterosexual AIDS among non-drug-users is at the beginning of the exponential curve. This means that preventative practices might keep it from reaching the epidemic proportions that AIDS has reached among homosexual men and intravenous drug users.

The necessary counselling and education differs from that which a doctor would give a couple not infected. When a prospective husband or wife has AIDS, the most prudent advice is not "safe sex" but no sex, since even with a condom the chances of infection are one in 10. And if the woman is infected, a couple must recognize that any child she bears will have a 60-65 percent chance of having AIDS and living a short and very painful life.

Public health officials also argue against mandatory testing of those who visit clinics for drug abuse and sexually transmitted diseases. They contend that the threat of an AIDS test will drive these people underground. If the administration is serious about requiring "informed consent," that would alleviate some of the threat, and it can also be argued that a drug addict who is willing to visit a clinic would also be willing to take an AIDS test.

The most convincing argument against testing married couples is that since the federal government, states and cities have limited resources to devote to AIDS, it is better to use those resources where the spread of the disease is most acute. Public health officials argue that government funds should be used first for education and research and for expanding voluntary testing and counselling among the most afflicted populations.

In San Francisco, for instance, there is a two-month waiting list for AIDS testing, and in New York it is virtually impossible for someone to get tested except by a private physician at a cost of \$100 or more.

But even the most ambitious government-funded AIDS program that includes testing for couples and the expansion of voluntary testing and counselling would cost far less than the \$5.8 billion the administration requested for its Star Wars program this fiscal year. And the most pessimistic estimates of future AIDS costs—\$40 billion a year by 1991—fall short of the money planned for this program. Perhaps the administration should adopt a slogan, "Make life, not war."

In any case, liberals and the left should not allow themselves to be dragged into a narrow ideological battle over testing. If Reagan's use of the term "routine" was not simply evasive, then his proposals are by no means unreasonable. What is unreasonable—and unpardonable—is the administration's reluctance to do anything else. ■

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LETTERS

Boycott, not praise

I FOUND YOUR ARTICLE ON THE RELATIVE MERITS of IBM's new PCs greatly disheartening and its title "All IBM is Saying Is Give PCs a Chance" (*ITT*, April 15) sadly ironic. The simple truth is that IBM is one of the major contractors for the development of nuclear weaponry in this country. Their products should be boycotted, not praised for the vivid resolution of their graphics.

It's as if *In These Times* had written an article on P.W. Botha and discussed only the color of his patio furniture. To treat IBM as just another shop in the marketplace, with absolutely no mention of the terrible ills they perpetuate on this planet, is irresponsible on *ITT*'s part and denies the premise of a moral obligation in the design or consumption of a product. I am not confusing here a personal computer with a nuclear missile, but I can't forget that it's the same company making both. To buy one is to condone the other.

Your article is little more than a free, two-page advertisement for an organization that deserves our censure, not our dollars.

Steve Kronen
South Miami, Fla.

Labor and the Cold War

ALTHOUGH YOUR ARTICLE ON THE APRIL 25 MOBILIZATION (*ITT*, May 6) was good, it had some problems. One was its view that labor is something of a "johnny-come-lately" to the peace and justice movement. The article left the reader with the impression that union rank-and-filers (like myself) were all Reagan supporters up until very recently. The facts are somewhat different.

For many years the "voice of labor" has been heard in the movements for social justice. Since the CIO days, labor has played a role in the movements for peace, freedom and equality. The unions were the first to oppose the Cold War, were there when Dr. King made his "I have a dream" speech and were among the first to oppose the Vietnam war. In more recent times, hundreds of thousands of workers turned out for Solidarity Day I (1981) and II (1983). This would seem to contradict Richard Ryan's contentions about the alleged conservatism of workers and "labor chieftains."

This article, sadly, reflects the sentiments about workers to be found in all too many "democratic socialist" articles. Unfortunately, these attitudes will not help your movement to gain mass support.

Gregory Butler
New York

led the first major split among union officials over Cold War policies.

Bolstering arms race

LISA JOYCE'S PIECE, "GUNNING FOR RESPECT IN the Pentagon Press Corps" (*ITT*, May 13) offered some revealing insights into the operation of the Pentagon press corps. Unfortunately, in her haste to end the article with an example of the positive influence of women on the defense establishment, she mischaracterizes Rozanne Ridgway's analysis of super-power relations as humanizing the issue. A second reading of the quote reveals little more than a restatement of the simplistic right-wing world view that rules out co-existence and justifies unlimited military expenditures. While the increasing inclusion of women in policy positions is cause for optimism, that optimism must be tempered with objectivity.

Christopher Alonzi
Simi Valley, Calif.

Conversion

THANKS TO DAVID MOBERG FOR OPENING DISCUSSION of peace movement strategy (*ITT*, April 8). Peace conversion, economic and psychological, is the only strategy that might stop SDI and related programs. The entire high-tech weapons industry has staked its future on SDI. Nothing short of full-scale industrial conversion can defuse the desperate struggle for economic survival that drives the people staffing the corporations and think tanks of this industry.

John Lewallen
Navarro, Calif.

The Hart of the matter

WE READ WITH GREAT INTEREST YOUR EDITORIAL statement (*ITT*, May 13) about Gary Hart. "...[H]e does not differ substantially in his social priorities and political principles from his rivals—or because he believes that the only way he can win is to obscure his views on such matters."

Exactly! Our family seems to remember that in the late '60s and '70s Gary Hart was a Democratic Socialist in Colorado local government. Didn't *In These Times* feature him a few times as a bright up-and-coming man with a good left-liberal philosophy?

If the Democratic Socialists in our country would run on that platform and the rest of us would speak up, we might see a surprising number of supporters. While Hart was running for president in 1984 and brief-

ly in 1987, we felt that *In These Times* and other left publications refrained from pointing out that Gary Hart had been a socialist and also refrained from wondering in print what had happened to his philosophy. Why did you refrain? You were also obscuring his views.

Hart's obscuring of his views was why he came across as having no substantive philosophy to offer. Everyone I have ever heard comment on Gary Hart said they could not figure out what he stood for. He seemed bright, but what did he believe? That sank him as much as the silly nonsense of womanizing. Regarding that issue, perhaps he should have stated that he and his wife were separated, he was going his own way and dating other women, and would the media please keep its collective nose out of his private affairs (pun intended).

How sad that he never stated his political beliefs in a coherent, Democratic Socialist system of political and economic democracy.

Anne Gregory
Media, Pa.

Nukes

TWO RESPONSES TO ALEXANDER AMERISOV'S "Chernobyl and Nuclear Power Growth" (*ITT*, May 13).

(1) Unfortunately, Amerisov is wrong when he writes that "no new [nuclear] power plants have been licensed in the U.S. since Three Mile Island." Despite the efforts of hundreds of opponents, local governments and the North Carolina attorney general, the NRC recently granted one to the local Shearon Harris nuclear power plant.

(2) This brings up just how illusionary democratic practice and "input" can be in an inherently undemocratic industrial technology. The local anti-nuke group Coalition for Alternatives to Shearon Harris (CASH) actually won the battle, yet seems to be losing the war. Some very fine organizing efforts resulted in a strong mobilization. A great variety of people now oppose the plant for economic and health reasons.

But the "winners" in this affair are the rich stockholders of Carolina Power and Light. The rest of us are stuck with the costs, the wastes, and the fears. As others have pointed out, a plutonium economy is not meant to be democratic. The appointed NRC is unaccountable. As a state-sanctioned monopoly, CP&L has the advantages of state-socialism and the profit rights of capitalism.

Let us not be fooled. Even though we prefer the relatively greater degree of

democratic practice found in the West, there are technologies immune to citizen veto. Unfortunately, with nuclear power this is a burden future generations will have to live with, and perhaps die from.

P.S. I don't want to leave the impression that those of us in CASH have given up the fight—legal challenges are still pending. But there are structural limitations that make it all too possible to "do everything right" and still lose...and that ain't democracy!

Daniel Neal Graham
Chapel Hill, N.C.

Strike three

JAMIE KITMAN, IN "WAY OUT IN LEFT-CENTER Field" (*ITT*, April 1), maintains that the left "has failed to lay a sufficient claim to the national pastime." Kitman regards this as deplorable. Most recently, Brent Staples has argued (*New York Times Magazine*, May 17) that black fans are abandoning baseball because of its persistent racism. This includes the fact that blacks end up in the outfield rather than other, more desirable positions. He reports that at the beginning of the 1986 season there were no black catchers in the major leagues. Why should I, as a sympathetic white, support baseball when black fans are abandoning it? Neither writer focuses on the fact that there are desirable and undesirable positions in baseball and there are huge disparities between them. Even if we eliminated the racism, some people are going to get stuck undeservedly in the undesirable positions. This was noted by a couple of Russian observers of baseball during the last Olympics who observed that the pitcher and catcher seemed to be dominating the action (*Washington Post*, Aug. 2, 1984).

If every sport were like baseball in this respect there would be no reason for the left to reject baseball. But some sports, like basketball, recreational volleyball and soccer, do manage to distribute the action equitably. Moreover, the widespread popularity of these sports in comparison with baseball in other parts of the world suggests that most people understand this. This includes both countries on the left like the Soviet Union and China as well as countries on the right like Chile.

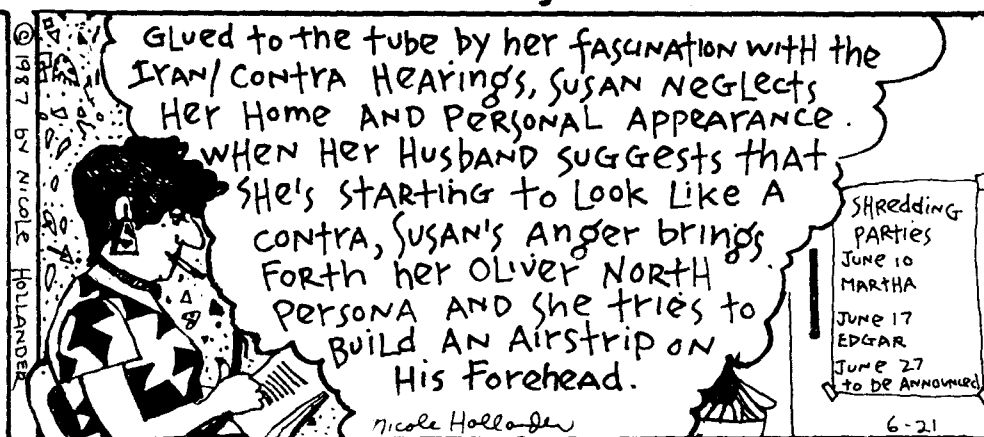
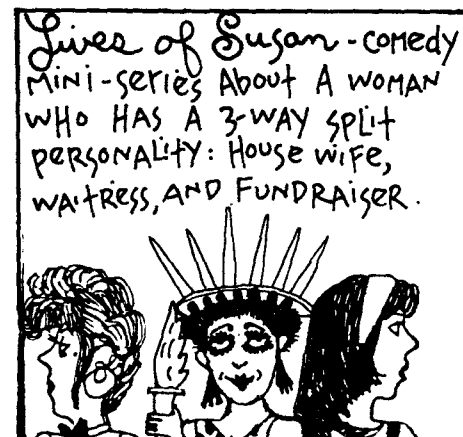
John Pepple
Minneapolis

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letter—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

Editor's note: While it is certainly true that rank-and-file workers supported efforts to end the war in Vietnam, and that many have opposed the Cold War, it is not true of the labor movement. The AFL and the CIO were mainstays of the Cold War from 1947 on, and the merged AFL-CIO was one of the Johnson administration's main supports during the war in Vietnam.

Furthermore, the New Left of the '60s was the first left in American history to be anti-labor, precisely because of the unions' support for the war. That's why the April 25 demonstration was so significant. It signal-

SYLVIA



by Nicole Hollander

Rocky Horror Show

It is hard to repress a shudder while turning on the TV set to watch the Iran contra hearings in Washington, D.C. True to gloomy predictions, Republicans, with the slack-jawed acquiescence and even vociferous support of most Democrats, have turned the joint congressional investigation into a pro-contra rally. Even senators and representatives with good intentions dribble away opportunity, baying emptily down false trails, bombarding the witnesses with red herrings. It's instructive to remember the Senate and House probes of the Watergate scandals and the performance of the congressional class of 1973 and 1974. The difference is as good an index as any of the political rot of the past decade and a half.

As I suggested here a month ago, Israel has disappeared from the scandal entirely, at least so far as these congressional hearings are concerned. Under the zealous protection of Sen. Inouye, the nation that either co-sponsored or initiated the arms and money shuttle to Iran and on to Nicaragua, is referred to only by number. It took Special Prosecutor Lawrence Walsh, with the issue of his subpoena for David Kimche, Israeli arms dealer and former head of the Foreign Ministry, to remind the world that Israel was involved. Israel had exacted from Sen. Inouye promises that whatever documents it might turn over would not be disclosed without consultation.

Indeed, Israel, despite its domestic political crisis, has felt sufficiently relaxed about its scandal-management to dispatch—according to a report in *Le Nouvel Observateur* in February—military instructors to work with the Iranian revolutionary guards, the Pasadaran. The magazine said that the wisdom imparted by these instructors contributed to the success earlier this year of the Pasadaran on the southern front against Iraq. Israel has also been reported to be supplying trainers for the contras in Honduras.

Congressional timidity about causing offense to Israel has been a prime factor in prompting the debacle of the hearings, since it was outrage at the furnishing of weapons to Khomeini rather than at illegal U.S. supply of the contras that made the U.S. congressional watchdogs—and press—stir sleepily in their kennels. But since resolute probing of what happened between the U.S. and Iran must inevitably involve Israel, the committee has swivelled its attention to Nicaragua, thus allowing Courtier, Garn and others their contra soap box.

ASHES & DIAMONDS

By Alexander Cockburn

All is not utterly dark. Despite the incantatory howls in the corporate press about Reagan's supposed popularity, the late-May CBS *New York Times* poll, among others, appears to have established beyond reasonable doubt that more Americans than otherwise think he is doing a lousy job and three out of four think he is lying about his role in the scandal. This is well above the Nixon level on the spectrum of human credibility. So cheer up. And while we are at it, listen to a true tribune of the people addressing the House of Representatives on May 4, 1987:

"So here we are with a president trying to divert our attention by trying to say he can do something with literally a bunch of gangsters known as the contras.... How in the world would they be received in Nicaragua if we were to try to pour them down the throats of the Nicaraguan people? Never. That is why they are hiding out in Honduras. They are not leading the revolution in Nicaragua because they are the representatives and the symbols of the regime that were kicked out by the revolution in Nicaragua.

"And let me say that I call it a glorious revolution. Regardless of what anybody else may call it, I call it a glorious revolution because it was an uprising of people that had been under the yoke of the worst kind of tyrant, the most corrupt form of human government in any part of the world. And who gave a hoot then about human rights? Where was Ronald Reagan worrying about human rights and freedom and democracy in Nicaragua?... Either we get on the side of the people or we continue as the aides and allies of those in close brotherhood with the despots and tyrants of this part of the world." This was Rep. Henry Gonzalez of Texas, the lone person in Congress calling for the impeachment of Ronald Reagan.

"soft targets" Galvin meant peasant co-ops, health workers, medical facilities, ill-defended settlements and other targets appropriate to the martial arts of the contras.

On May 14 the Sandinistas flew up 70 reporters to examine the abandoned contra camp, but precious little of their findings made it into the U.S. corporate media. In a typical dispatch Steven Kinzer of the *New York Times*, who followed his usual habit of staying in Managua and seeking the counsel of "diplomatic sources," i.e., the U.S. Embassy, acknowledged that there may have been a battle in which the contras were routed, but on the other hand there may not and that perhaps the contras never claimed to control this area and on the other hand perhaps they did and who knows the narrow line that divides truth from fiction, etc., etc. *The Militant*, the vigorous U.S. left-wing paper, had a good dispatch from its Managua correspondent Roberto Kopec in which Kopec recalled some of the exuberant coverage of the "contra stronghold" filed and published even as the contras were fleeing.

In *Newsweek* Rod Nordland wrote of his April visit to San Andres de Bocay that the contra leaders were "thrilled at the prospect of combat" and "ready—and eager—to meet the enemy." Kopec quoted a Sandinista soldier as saying that the contras had not put up much of a fight and concluded, accurately enough, that "dozens of U.S. reporters were on the trip here and witnessed the destroyed contra base. But the story has received very little attention in the U.S. media. Now that the contra 'showcase' is gone and Washington's terrorists routed, the Amaca-Bocay base is no longer page one." I should add that the June 1 *Newsweek* carried a very different piece by Nordland, describing a tour with the contras in which he described them as nothing but "bandits."

Contra Love Call

Six days after Gonzalez expressed these uplifting sentiments, Sandinista troops wiped out a contra base near San Andres de Bocay and drove more than 800 contras across the river into Honduras. This was the terrain to which credulous U.S. journalists had been brought in droves to examine the supposed ability of the contras to hold a piece of Nicaraguan soil. Their plan, conceivably in conjunction with the U.S. "Solid Shield" maneuvers just above the Honduran border, was to have FDN military commander Enrique Bermudez and other contra leaders come down and claim that the "democratic resistance" now functions inside Nicaragua. Had the Sandinistas not successfully routed the contras it is entirely conceivable that Bermudez and the others would have made their descent to "liberated territory" in mid-May and immediately called upon the U.S. troops massed a few miles to the north to come and help them ward off the Sandinista attack.

This has been a Reagan scenario all along, hand in hand with other strategy, chillingly evoked in late May by Gen. Galvin to *Boston Globe* reporter Fred Kaplan, with his remark that the contras were doing well since they were hitting "soft targets" and "not duking it up with the Sandinistas." By

Twenty Years After

In Israel's Occupied Territories, including East Jerusalem, there were, in 1986: 13 political killings by the army, 10 deportations, 61 house demolitions for "security reasons," 100 curfews, 100 "temporary closures of institutions" and two permanent closures of newspapers.

I should add that the compilers excluded from their list torture, disappearance, arbitrary arrests and detentions, de facto expulsions (denial of re-entry and family reunion permits, release of prisoners on the grounds they leave the country), restrictions of travel, harassment and arbitrary interrogation, bans on newspaper distribution, inhumane prison conditions. They excluded these because they were "difficult to quantify," "too numerous," too difficult to conform. The compilers also excluded "well-documented major human rights and Geneva Convention violations such as massive land confiscations, illegal settlements, absolute denial of Palestinian political rights, including the right to elect their own political representatives at any level of government and the right to self-determination."

This is the 20th year of Israel's occupation of Palestinian territories. The figures

above were compiled by the DataBase Project of Palestinian Human Rights, a major new undertaking based in Jerusalem and with a U.S. office at 1 Quincy Court, Suite 1308, Chicago, IL 60604, (312) 987-1985. The DataBase Project has also put out a striking study, called "A Portrait of Twenty-Four Hours in Twenty Years of Israeli Military Occupation of Palestinian Land."

The 24 hours crossed April 12-13, 1987. On April 12 Israeli military authorities performed a night-sweep, arresting at least 109 Palestinians and placing them under administrative detention. There's a ban on the names of those arrested but they are known to include journalists, intellectuals, unionists and a human rights field worker. No charges have been brought against any, nor is any needed under Israeli law, thus directly violating the Fourth Geneva Convention.

On April 13, Israeli soldiers fired live ammunition, rubber bullets and tear gas for 15 minutes at unarmed Palestinian students in a peaceful demonstration. One died and five were hospitalized for bullet wounds. Many other students sustained injuries from the bullets and gas and from being dragged and beaten, as witnessed by the Red Cross in the assault at Bir Zait University which was closed for four months. The whereabouts of 25 Palestinian students arrested at the scene is unknown. For a time ambulances were denied entry to the campus to evacuate the wounded.

In early May two deportation orders were issued against the current president of Bir Zait University's student council and the former president of An-Najah University's student council. According to Louise Cainkar of the DataBase Project, there is virtually no way to revoke these orders. The Israeli High Court is not a court of appeal for Palestinians in the territories. It merely reviews the procedural processes of the military officials to see if procedural actions were taken according to regulations.

Among those detained on April was Faisal Hussein, a well-known Palestinian human rights activist and head of the Arab Studies Society. He has never advocated violence and believes Israelis and Palestinians can live side by side in peace. He is also founder of the joint Arab-Jewish "Committee to Confront the Iron Fist." He is a resident of Jerusalem, and being detained under Israeli law. Many Israelis have risen to his defense.

These horrors are not exceptional. They have been staple for Palestinians for many years, to almost total indifference—most significantly in the alternative or noncorporate press. Yet a measure of the distance to be travelled can be gained not only from the treatment of Israel in the present scandal, alluded to above, but in the timbre of public, political debate. With the exception of Democratic front-runner Jesse Jackson, no candidate will say a critical word about Israel's behavior and systematic abuse of the most elementary human rights. The bidding-season for American Jewish political support has opened with Sen. Robert Dole's call for PLO offices in the U.S. to be closed down. Sen. Edward Kennedy and Howard Metzenbaum are already backing the call. By year's end we can expect half the Democratic candidates to be urging the removal of the official Israeli center of government to Ramallah and immediate recognition by the U.S. of same.

Such are the consequences of censorship, to the enduring shame of the U.S. press. ■

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Is the merger craze just plain crazy?

The previous Everybody's Business (May 6) analyzed the reasons for the wave of corporate mergers now gripping the American economy. Is the merger wave something to be condemned or welcomed?

Effects of the merger wave: Many of the recent mergers have been of the horizontal type, where companies producing similar products combine. Previously heavily circumscribed by antitrust authorities, such mergers have been freely allowed under the Reagan administration. They are the ones for which the strongest case can be made for social benefits, in the form of economies of large-scale production.

Japanese steel companies have been able to outcompete American steel companies partly by building larger, more efficient plants. And in recent years, three of the large American steel companies were combined—Jones and Laughlin, Youngstown and Republic—under the auspices of LTV Corporation, with promises of efficiencies that would enable the American steel industry, and the steel labor force, to survive. But instead LTV's steel business dragged the company into bankruptcy last July, despite the highly profitable aerospace contracts of the parent company.

It is too early for good statistical studies to be available on the efficiency outcomes of the '80s mergers. The best studies on the mergers of the '60s and '70s found no significant gains, although fewer of the mergers in that era were horizontal, the type most likely to yield positive results. Even so, the strong speculative and monopoly-seeking motives surrounding the '80s merger wave suggests that efficiency gains are not likely to be a major outcome.

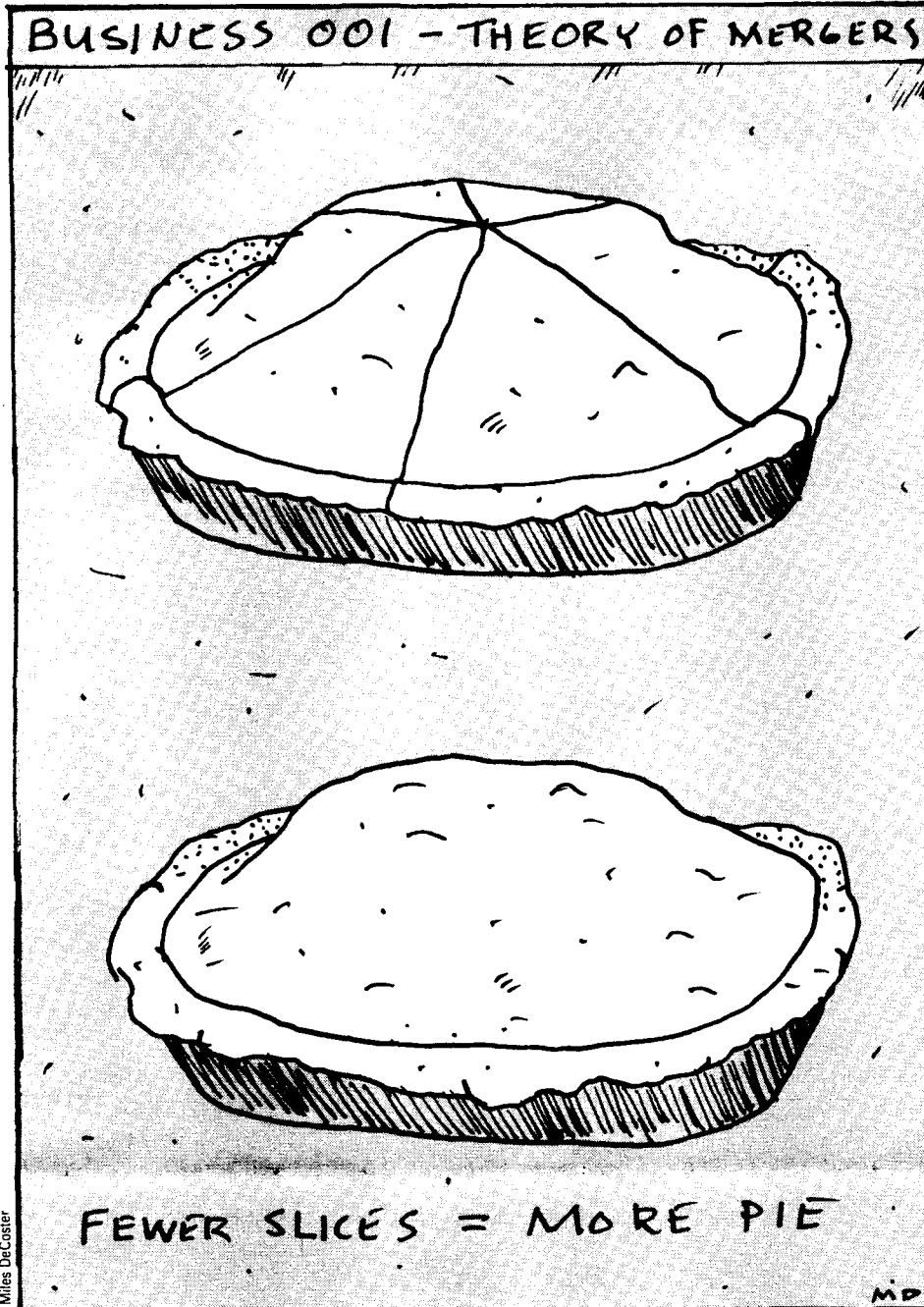
So far the effects of recent mergers appear to be largely negative, bound to increase monopoly power. The conservative faith that high market concentration does not spell monopoly power conflicts with the great bulk of empirical evidence, which shows that fewer competitors means higher profits and translates into the power to transfer real income from smaller, more competitive capitalists and from workers.

The merger wave is also certain to increase the overall concentration of resources among the largest corporations. This increases the already vast political and social power of big capital. And as more and more small, local businesses are gobbled up by large conglomerates, workers and communities can expect greater uncertainty and instability. Locally owned businesses are, of course, still capitalist enterprises primarily concerned with making profits. But locally based capitalists usually have some commitment to their communities and are not so readily able to leave if wages or taxes are not adjusted in their favor. Acquisition by a large national or international conglomerate eliminates local ties, turning the business into more of a pure unit of capital, free of any community ties that might limit its labor or locational policies.

Do mergers reduce productive investment? Populists complain that mergers, along with other speculative purchases of existing assets, reduce efficiency and destroy jobs by wasting capital that might otherwise have gone into building more and better productive facilities.

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

By David Kotz



Mainstream economists reject that argument, countering it with the observation that money capital spent for acquisition of existing assets is not really used up. Rather, the funds are transferred to whomever sold the asset, and are still potentially available for someone to use for real productive investment.

The mainstream objection is valid as far as it goes; speculation does not directly "use up" capital. But the complacency of mainstream economists is unjustified. Mergers and other forms of speculation can, indeed, through more indirect routes, reduce the level of productive investment.

First, real productive investment in modern capitalism is done chiefly by corporations, using funds from retained earnings or from lenders. When corporations use the funds from such sources for speculative purposes, those funds may never find their way back into productive investment. Individual sellers of assets, enriched by their sales, may increase their consumption of yachts and vacation homes; or the proceeds of speculative sales may simply be placed in financial investments, bidding up the prices of existing stocks, bonds or land.

Theoretically such financial investments could trickle back into corporations as loans. But the merger process is to a large extent financed by various forms of borrowing. This process increases the indebtedness of corporations, making them a riskier prospect for further loans. General Motors, for example, recently announced a plan to buy back 20 percent of its own stock. Al-

though GM officials deny it, outside analysts report that the buyback will have to be financed largely by borrowing, which would make GM more vulnerable to recessions and a poorer risk for the high level of capital borrowing needed to keep up with the Japanese companies' efficient production systems. Similarly, the huge debt taken on by oil companies to acquire one another will be an obstacle if further funds are needed for exploration.

The high profits that can be made from mergers tend to divert money and attention from productive investments. Venture capital firms have in recent years raised money from wealthy investors to supply funds to promising new firms experimenting with new technologies. But more than one-third of the funds raised by venture capital firms last year reportedly went to underwrite leveraged buyouts rather than technological innovation.

When top corporate managers become obsessed with mergers and other speculative endeavors, this inevitably diverts their attention from the alternative of spending funds for productive investment. Even companies that might prefer to avoid the merger frenzy are damaged by it. Specialists in unfriendly takeover campaigns, such as T. Boone Pickens, often cripple companies with their usually unsuccessful, but always lucrative, takeover efforts. The unwilling target company usually must incur large debts to fend off the takeover. At recent congressional hearings James E. Harfield, president of the union representing workers

at Owens-Corning Fiberglas, listed the damage caused by Wickes Corporation's unsuccessful raid last year. He reported that the \$2.6 billion debt taken on by Owens-Corning to defeat the raider is now leading to the closing of previously profitable plants and the cutting in half of R&D activities.

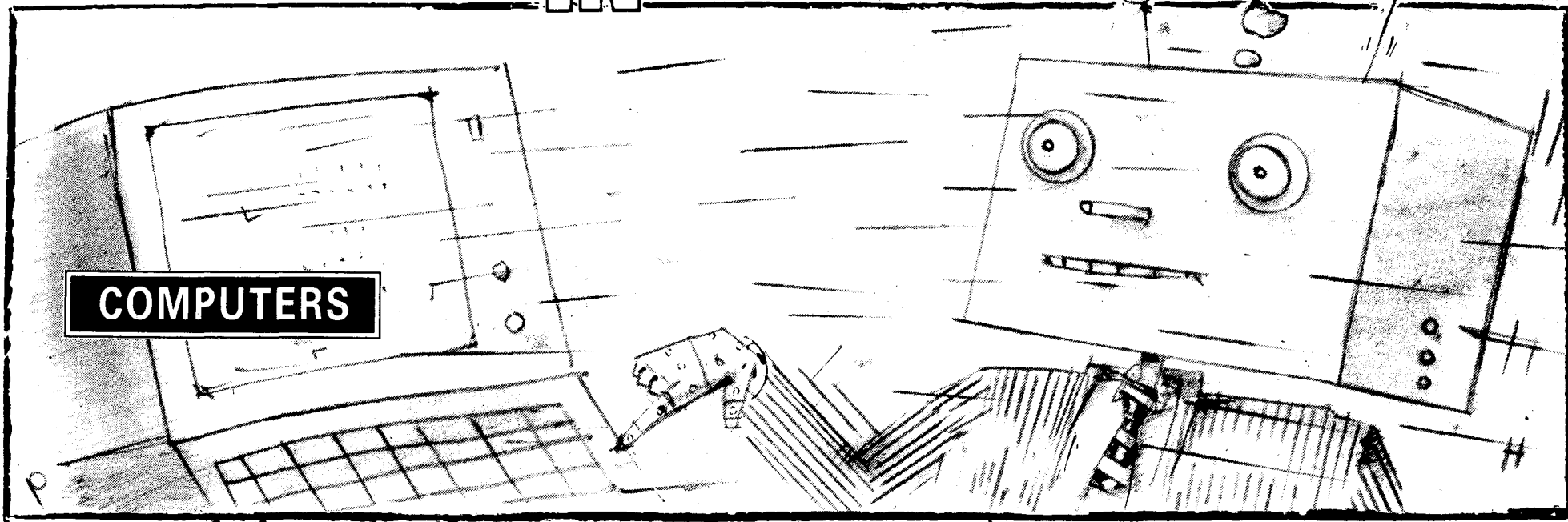
A socialist policy on mergers: A century ago many socialists thought that mergers were a progressive development. And, indeed, in that stage of capitalism mergers were creating the first corporations large enough, and far-sighted enough, to develop and utilize advanced technologies, and powerful enough to suppress destructive cutthroat competition. But in the already highly monopolized economy of the late 20th century, mergers generally do not have such a progressive character. Today they are largely driven by a combination of speculative motives and the pursuit of even greater monopoly power in a context of already very limited competition.

Socialists should support strict controls on mergers. The participants in any sizeable proposed merger should have to demonstrate that the merger would not increase monopoly power, destroy productive jobs or undermine local communities. The potentially affected parties should be accorded the right to testify on such matters. Where demonstrable social benefits would result from mergers, injured parties should have the right to compensation if the merger is permitted. An otherwise justifiable merger that also increases monopoly power should be permitted only with special public oversight over the ongoing operations of the merged company.

Such a policy would prevent many socially harmful mergers. It would also promote the principle that corporate property is social property, subject to social intervention to protect interests of workers, smaller businesses and communities. Furthermore, by lengthening the time required to consummate a merger and making the process more open, it would wipe out much of the speculative motive for mergers, which depends on "beating the market" by being able to act quickly and secretly at the right moment.

Mergers and other speculative investments are an inevitable aspect of capitalism. Allowing private individuals to own society's means of production as their private property does, as Marx long ago noted, produce certain social benefits, as capitalist self-interest propels the continual development and advance of the production process, resulting in growth of material output. But the same profit motive that can lead to economic progress also leads to a variety of socially wasteful and irrational processes, of which mergers and speculation are a prime example.

If greater profit can be made by shuffling ownership of existing assets than by producing more real assets, then that is what the logic of capitalism dictates the capitalists must do. In certain periods, such as the current one, this ownership shuffling mushrooms to enormous proportions. A fundamental mistake of populists is the belief that somehow the unproductive side of capitalism can be abolished while retaining its productive side. While it is possible to control such processes to some extent through social oversight, it is not possible to eliminate them. Only full social ownership and control can turn the means of production into a genuine servant of humankind.



Baudy tales and byting yarns

**The Cult of Information:
The Folklore of Computers
and the True Art of Thinking**
By Theodore Roszak
Pantheon, 238 pp., \$7.95

By John Magney

THE COMPUTER REVOLUTION HAS lost some of its media magic during the past couple of years. A prolonged sales slump, even for the mighty IBM (though IBM has tried to regain marketplace momentum with a new line of microcomputers; see *In These Times*, April 15), has cut into the value of most computer stocks. Dozens of companies have gone belly-up or been swallowed. And the effort to build an ever-expanding home market for computers has been largely abandoned.

Along with the slowdown in sales has come a growing recognition of the problems associated with computer technology. Contrary to its "clean" image, manufacture of the technology involves the generation of highly toxic wastes. The computerization of work systems often results in degraded job skills and the displacement of workers. And these systems may or may not function as intended; breakdowns caused by software flaws occur with troublesome regularity.

The popular press has given us bits and pieces of the story. But to get a fuller picture of what computer technology is doing to us (as well as for us), one has to turn to trade and academic publications. Or to studies using these specialized sources, such as Theodore Roszak's *The Cult of Information*.

Roszak covers a broad range of issues. He examines the unique intellectual perspectives of information theory and artificial intelligence, considers predictions of futurologists about our movement toward an "information economy" and probes the uses and misuses of computers in politics, schools and the

military. He also includes many interesting snippets on the history of modern computing.

Simple-minded futurists: Roszak's criticisms are often right on the mark. He dismisses the views of Alvin Toffler, John Naisbitt and other contemporary futurologists for their simple-minded concept of social change. And this is as it should be. Our future as a society is not an open book. Although it's probably safe to say that information technology will play an increasingly dominant role in our lives, how this takes place will depend on developments within the technology as well as political choices and a host of other factors.

Perhaps the hottest current issue in the computing community is artificial intelligence. The idea, of course, is an old one. For years science fiction writers have been creating machines encompassing human thought processes. And now many computer researchers are trying to do the same thing. But, as Roszak points out, their accomplishments have been rather limited. They have successfully modeled the diagnostic work of medical doctors and experts in other fields. But that's about it. There's little indication we'll see any truly artificial intelligence for the foreseeable future.

The work on artificial intelligence, as with much earlier research in computing, has been strongly supported by military funding agencies. Over the years, computer scientists have accepted the defense dollars without much questioning, though, as Roszak notes, there have been some notable exceptions. Norbert Wiener, the famed MIT mathematician and popularizer of computer cybernetics, staunchly opposed military exploitation of the new technology. More recently, a number of top academic computing professionals have roundly criticized the planned Strategic Defense Initiative.

Although the military and its corporate partners have generally dominated the development of com-

puter technology, a few important breakthroughs have occurred elsewhere. The invention of the microcomputer, of course, is the classic case. Here the creative force was a curious assemblage of electronic hobbyists, hippie hackers and sharp-eyed entrepreneurs. Roszak's account of this development glosses over the entrepreneurs' role, but it's not a major omission, since their part of the story has been repeated *ad nauseum* in the business press.

School systems analysis: The incredibly rapid diffusion of microcomputer technology through the country in the early '80s created a raft of adjustment problems, especially for our educational institu-

tions. All of a sudden, school systems were confronted with a massive demand for training and education in the new technology. Roszak's discussion of how the schools have responded is one of the book's weaker points. Although he correctly criticizes the value of much educational software, he appears to be totally unfamiliar with the extensive research on the cognitive effects of computerized education. He also shows little understanding of why the schools are working with the new technology.

As with other critics on the left, Roszak expresses considerable fear and loathing about the potential threats to civil liberties inherent in computer technology. It's certainly an appropriate fear. Computer-based surveillance systems can be frighteningly effective. But, as MIT social scientist Gary Marx and com-

puter security consultant Sanford Sherizen pointed out in a recent article in *Technology Review*, electronic surveillance can also create serious administrative problems, especially when used to monitor work conduct. There are cases where it has been abandoned because of these problems.

The Cult of Information covers a lot of ground, and should be read by anyone wanting an insightful analysis of the problem-side of the new computer technology. Although it touches on some of the same points dealt with in other recent studies, most notably Lenny Siegel's and John Markoff's *The High Cost of High Tech*, it is a valuable contribution to the growing critical literature on high-tech. ■

John Magney is a computer programmer and consultant.

Ethics take a back seat when inside dopes like Boesky rule the street

**The Insiders: The Truth
Behind the Scandal Rocking
Wall Street**

By Mark Stevens
G.P. Putnam, 256 pp., \$18.95

By G. Pascal Zachary

ONE OF THE MOST STRIKING aspects of the insider stock trading scandal is how small an effect this unfolding story has had on the investment habits of stockholders. Ivan Boesky, one of the top traders on Wall Street, has been nailed by the government for trading on illegal inside information, yet stock prices continue their upward march as investors plow billions into U.S. stock markets. If, as Mark Stevens believes, the markets are "more like rigged casinos," why haven't investors grown tired of playing a one-sided game?

Stevens doesn't attempt to answer this conundrum in *The Insiders: the Truth Behind the Scandal Rocking Wall Street*. A veteran business writer, Stevens has a less ambitious agenda for his book, which chronicles several of the more notorious insider scandals of recent years.

While short on analysis, Stevens goes further than most commentators who use the "bad apple" theory to explain the seeming surge of stock trading based on insider information. He asserts that insider trading is the rule on Wall Street, where traders at big-time investment firms are part of "a lawless culture willing to pay a hefty bounty for confidential data."

Inside dope has always been valuable to stock traders. But in our era of unprecedented corporate takeovers, this information is more valuable than ever. "Gaining ad-

vance news here," writes Stevens, referring to tips about impending but still unannounced acquisition offers, "can mean almost instant profits—tens of millions of dollars in a matter of days or hours." These offers, when publicly disclosed, invariably drive up the stock price of the hunted company, benefitting insider traders who bought stock on the hush-hush.

The ethical slide: In Stevens' view, the failure of Wall Street's top investment firms to police their

WALL STREET

own ranks marks "a new low in American capitalism. The decline of ethics and morality and gentlemanly business practices—which once had their place in the premier investment banks—coincided with the shift of power in the corporate world from the Fortune 500 chief executives to the takeover sharks who prey on them."

This ascendant class of sharks lacks even the rudiments of ethics. Boesky voiced their credo in a 1985 speech to graduates of Cal Berkeley's business school: "I think greed is healthy," he said reassuringly. "You can be greedy and still

Essayists tilting at the Cold War windmills of reality

Before the Point of No Return
Edited by Leon Wofsy
Monthly Review Press, 160 pp.,
\$8.00

By James Weinstein

VIEWED NARROWLY, CONTRAGATE is a crisis of the Reagan administration. Viewed historically, it is but the latest in a series of crises of the Cold War that have caused suffering and misery to subject populations and promoted the destabilization of the major protagonists.

The most important of these on the American side have been the Korean War, which helped defeat the Democrats in 1952, the war in Vietnam, which culminated with Watergate and President Nixon's downfall and intervention against Nicaragua, which may well do in President Reagan.

On the Soviet side, these crises have been matched by the invasion of Hungary and Poland in 1956, the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and, more recently, the Polish Solidarity movement and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, which helped create the conditions for Gorbachov's ascendancy.

Both in the U.S. and the Soviet Union, the Cold War has skewed domestic development, by diverting resources from socially useful and desirable purposes and by creating atmospheres in which

creativity has been stifled—though differently in each society. And, of course, the continuation of the Cold War has always entailed a danger, however remote, that it could become a hot war of mutual nuclear annihilation.

Concern about all these problems led Leon Wofsy, a professor emeritus of immunology at the Uni-

POLITICS

versity of California, and several colleagues at Berkeley, to organize conferences, seminars and correspondence on the prospects for ending the Cold War in 1983-84. Material from these provided the basis for *Before the Point of No Return*, a book offering "an exchange of views on the Cold War, the Reagan doctrine, and what's to come."

Edited by Wofsy, the book consists of short pieces by 25 participants in this dialogue. Views range from those of Flora Lewis of the *New York Times*, who believes that nothing short of "drastic changes in the internal structure of the Soviet Union" can end American hostility, to those of Noam Chomsky, who believes that the Cold War is a state of equilibrium between two great powers that need each other as enemies, to those of *Monthly Review* editor Paul Sweezy, who writes that "the Cold War could be peacefully terminated tomorrow if the U.S. so willed

it," but who doubts this is likely to happen.

Backing away from Cold War: Wofsy, who contributes his own essay and a summary at the end, is neither as one-sided as Lewis and Sweezy, nor as pessimistic as Chomsky. Approaching the Cold War more historically, Wofsy argues that the "process of backing away from the Cold War does not need to await fundamental alterations in the structure of Soviet or U.S. society," but only an understanding that "the interests and purposes it serves are clearly outweighed by its failures."

And he is optimistic in the sense that he sees continuation of the Cold War mode of international relations as increasingly ineffective, even from the point of view of its most passionate proponents. In recent years, he argues, "a remarkable gap" has developed "between military power and its effective expression as political power." This, he asserts, is clearly reflected in the foreign policy failures of the Reagan administration, which may offer a historic paradox: its "very effort to gain a decisive victory in the Cold War and...to quell all the 'hot spots' in the Third World," may finally compel a change of course. "If the most militant and militaristic Cold Warrior," Wofsy asks, cannot "overcome the windmills of reality," who can?

If, for example, "Nicaragua re-

mains standing after Reagan has made so absolute a commitment to its downfall, it will be proof indeed that the Cold War formula is no longer effective."

As for the Soviet side, Wofsy sees no indication that they believe it possible to "establish military or technological superiority over the United States, that they bank on being able to pressure or subvert the United States into collapse," or

that they believe it possible to "exclude U.S. interests from the Third World."

Implicit in this view is a belief that the Soviets are not only in greater need of ending the Cold War, in order to get on with their own development, but also that the Gorbachov regime is considerably more flexible and serious about reducing tensions than is the Reagan administration. This view is shared by many of the other participants in *Before the Point of No Return*. And implicit in that view is the idea that ending the Cold War is, in large part, dependent on a new politics outside the bipartisan Cold War consensus that has existed in the U.S. since the late '40s.

Unfortunately, this latter point remains implicit in the book, which otherwise is an interesting and stimulating introduction to the meaning of the Cold War and the prospects for changing the framework within which social policy decisions are made, both at home and in the Soviet sphere. ■

Both in the U.S. and the Soviet Union, the Cold War has skewed domestic development by diverting resources from socially useful and desirable purposes.

feel good about yourself."

Besides citing a decline in morals, however, Stevens fails to offer an explanation for the seeming surge in illegal stock trading. Instead he laboriously describes the many ways a determined illegal trader can obtain inside dope.

Had Stevens spent less time creating a "how-to" guide for would-be illegal traders, he might have unearthed the root causes of such illegalities—and even offered some new ideas on the old problem of policing financial markets.

Surveying Wall Street's moral wreckage, Stevens does his subject no justice by throwing up his hands and bemoaning the "lack of meaningful controls" to thwart insiders. Despite the slew of well-publicized recent cases against insider traders, he concludes that illegal trading will likely continue, "perhaps stronger than ever as the securities markets grow more complex, more multinational."

That may be so. The "real truth" about the insider scandals, however, is not that Wall Street has been unable to keep its own watch. Rather, deregulation of the nation's financial markets has failed. In its zeal to keep its hands off the "free

market," the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), Wall Street's putative watchdog, has created the climate in which illegal trading occurs routinely.

Leaving the barn door open: While it gains favorable publicity and an aura of aggressiveness by clamping down on individual scofflaws, the SEC continues to leave the proverbial barn door wide open. Significantly, the SEC was a major factor in sparking increased insider trading by helping trigger the takeover boom. Refusing to

Traders at big-time Wall Street investment firms are part of a lawless culture willing to pay a hefty bounty for confidential data.

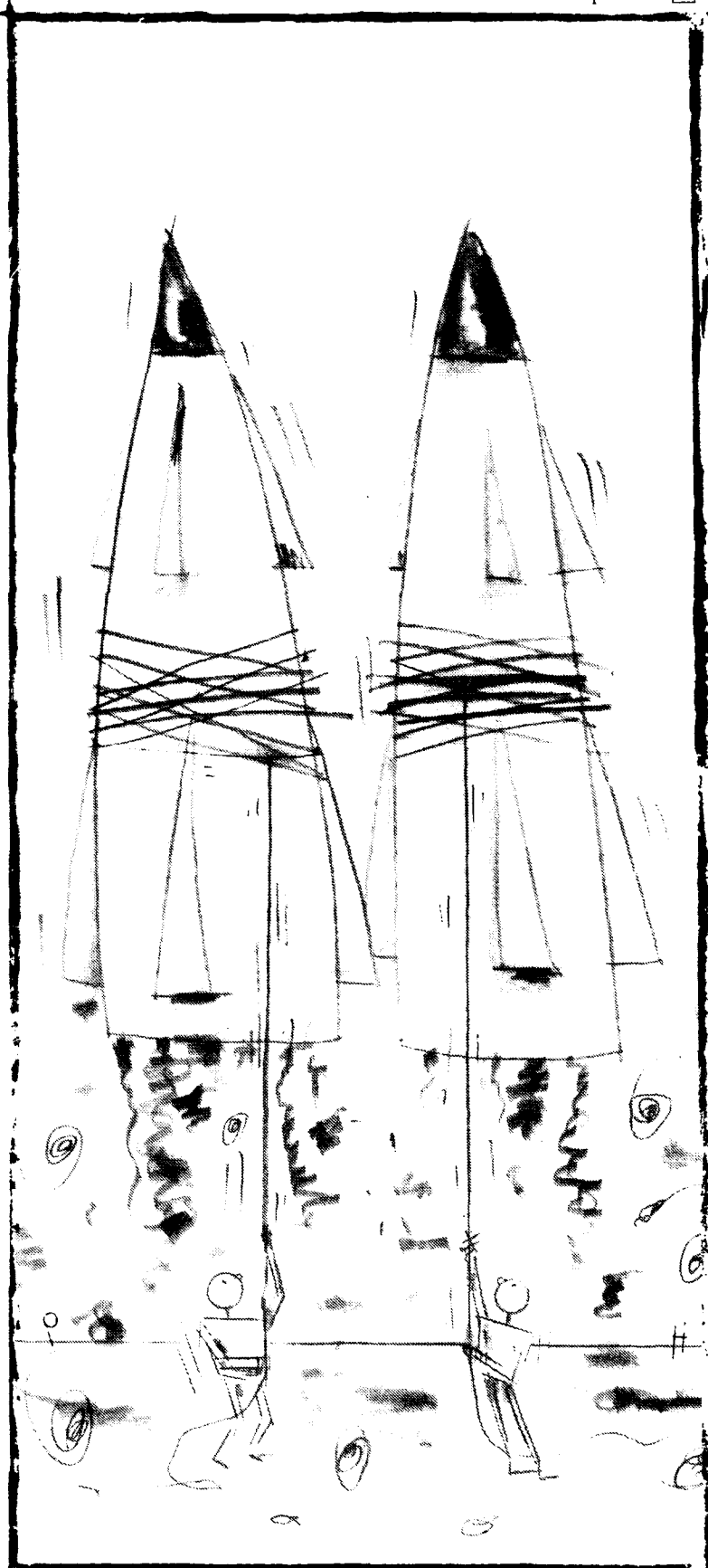
limit the sale of risky, low-quality notes called junk bonds, the agency gave raiders a means to finance their speculative acquisitions. With so many takeovers in the works,

illegal insider trading was inevitable.

Much neglected by critics of corporate raiders, the SEC holds the key to cleaning up Wall Street's murky trading practices. The agency also could reverse a dangerous trend in American business management, which lately has reaped big rewards for shuffling old assets but shown less enthusiasm for capturing new markets. Because it lacks the will to enforce the nation's securities laws, the SEC has encouraged the "paper entrepreneurs" who are eroding American industry. While the SEC looked the other way, top managers of stagnating companies gave themselves huge bonuses in the form of "golden parachutes," or pillaged shareholders by purchasing their own companies in "leveraged buy-outs" at bargain prices.

The truth behind the scandal on Wall Street? To find it, look no farther than a federal agency that has abandoned its responsibilities to the public and, with pathetic irony, has injured American business as well. ■

G. Pascal Zachary writes frequently about business and economics. He lives in Menlo Park, Calif.





Eddie Murphy copping a bad attitude

Beverly Hills Cop II
Directed by Tony Scott

By Pat Aufderheide

EDDIE MURPHY, WHOSE STARRING role in *Beverly Hills Cop* made that film the biggest grossing comedy in history, has long since passed from the category of comedian to phenomenon. Murphy, in league with mega-producers Don Simpson and Jerry Bruckheimer, is on the beat again as the cop Axel Foley in *Beverly Hills Cop II*. This time, though, the game gets rough.

Cop II is a machine of pile-driving entertainment, directed with deadly force by Tony Scott (*Top Gun*). It's not only the car crashes—every car chase involves smash-ups that would slaughter in real life. It's also cinematography that offers eerie lyric takes on urban devastation, locks on to female thighs and buttocks as moving pin-ups, and fondles luxury objects pruriently. It's the editing-for-shock, keeping pace with the Giorgio Moroder-meets-Motown style music (just flash on the theme song and you've got it).

This is not merely viewer-assault; it's a concept. As Scott told the *New York Times*, he was looking for "an energy fix," by "trying to pull the audience in two directions, to exhaust the audience by manipulating it...so that when the humor comes it is almost a sense of relief."

High and low society: One consequence is a plot (to which Eddie Murphy contributed) so baroquely complex that it's impossible to follow, involving oil wells, gun-running and high society. The

plot does carefully bring back several characters from the original. Axel's modus operandi has little to do with solving the crime and everything to do with making sure Murphy's the punchline to the incident.

Murphy's assumed a heavy challenge in competing with car pile-ups for our attention, but he lowers himself to the job with a combination of scatological and crudely misogynist gambits—the same

FILM

principle that boosted ratings for shock-jock radio. The shit jokes run through the film like a sewer, and so do epithets like "bitch" and other locker-room references to women. Murphy, however, leavens the crudity by raising his own eyebrows at it, as if in surprise that a basically nice boy from the 'burbs like himself could be so outrageous.

The film's structure abets him. Murphy's self-portrayal as a grown-up middle-class adolescent takes place within a story about adolescent will triumphing over authority—particularly the stodgy authority of police bureaucracy, with the kick being that the adolescent renegade wears a badge. Of course, being a boy's adventure story, the plot builds in the brutal misogyny (Brigitte Nielsen, Sly Stallone's body-builder wife, plays the villainess).

Super-adolescents: We may be getting used to stories of super-adolescents for whom mayhem is heroism; Rambo already carved that icon in muscle, and the *Ghostbusters* crowd in fast-food

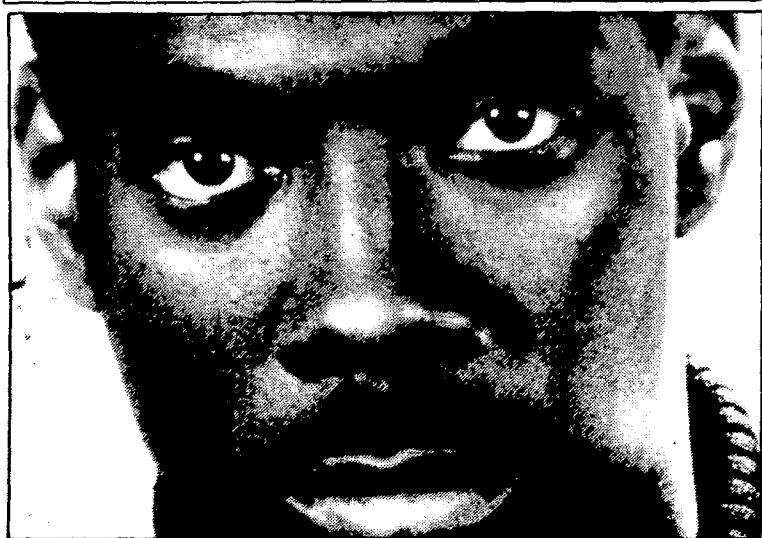
flab. But Murphy is a black comic, and that makes a difference. Some of Murphy's humor draws on the lowest common denominator of pee-pee, doo-doo jokes, and banana-peel pratfalls, a timeless source of explosive laughter. But in race-conscious America, no black comic can escape the fact of being black. Murphy's solution is to ground his humor in cheap exploitation of racial stereotypes, both black and white.

Playing a series of images drawn from white stereotypes of blacks, he launches them, in the *Beverly Hills Cop* movies, against black stereotypes of whites. There's no trace of underlying irony, no sign

of the compelling desire to see and be seen beyond stereotype that always gave Richard Pryor's (or Lenny Bruce's) humor power. It's a centerless, spoof job that becomes a sly joke on those troubled by the realities that stereotypes reflect in their distorted way.

Axel's the hip one, not just because he's adept and outrageous, but because he draws on black street experience. He keeps saying to his dumbfounded white sidekicks, "I didn't always used to be a cop, you know." What he used to be, presumably, is a street punk, where he might have learned how to jam a security system. But that's not where he learned the man-

***Beverly Hills Cop II* provides a glistening machine for Murphy to drive in. And he's a cool hand at the wheel; anybody who could compete successfully with that much visual technique has to be good. But where's he going?**



nerisms to deceive the endlessly gullible white middle-class of secretaries, bumbling bureaucrats and incompetent cops when he pretends to be a jive pool cleaner or a rolling-eyes-craven delivery boy, or a pimp. He got those images where we got them, from mass media, like the Amos & Andy imitation he uses on his answering machine.

Spooking whitey: Yet somehow this ex-street tough also seems to have graduated from some suburban high school (which Murphy actually did), and one where he got used to having only white friends. When he's done spooking whitey, he relaxes with him (and I do mean him). In his letter jacket Murphy cops a speaking style and genial stance that could come right out of a John Hughes teen movie. The threat of those dread bad-black images dissipates into the familiarity of the generic juvenile lead of the '80s.

There's something plastic about Murphy, so adept at playing roles but so blithely empty at the core. Think about his peculiar asexuality. Traces of gay gentility (also stereotypical) thread through his performance, here as in *Cop I*. And his relationship to women is carefully limited. He admires body parts with the best of them, but his only female friends (in the first film, his college buddy, in this film the daughter of his murdered cop friend) are sister-types, and they're white.

Murphy is the neutered version of blaxploitation hero of *Sweet Sweetback's Badass Song* or *Shaft*. He's crossed them with Michael J. Fox, and turned himself into the crossover black hero for a culture where image is everything. He can titillate with expert imitations of the blacks whites fear—that young tough black street kid, the hustler, the criminal—and then dismiss them as a joke. The part he returns to as an anchor for the Axel character is the generic male teenager. The same kind that's terrified of and hostile toward women, thrilled by guns, in opposition to authority and in love with clothes. That teenager.

Beverly Hills Cop II provides a glistening machine for Murphy to drive in. And he's a cool hand at the wheel; anybody who could compete successfully with that much visual technique has to be good. But where's he going? The smug self-satisfaction shows through in his performance, matching the glossy high-sensationalism of the film's action-packed execution. You can't help laughing at moments in *Beverly Hills Cop II*, and it's undoubtedly bound for box-office glory at a time when we need a lot of noise to distract us from the mess of everyday life. But ultimately the joke's on us. ■

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Rosa Luxemburg
Directed by Margarethe von Trotta

By Ed Morales

Rosa Luxemburg, wildflower of revolt

IN TELLING THE STORY OF ROSA LUXEMBURG, the Polish-born political activist of turn-of-the-century Germany, filmmaker Margarethe von Trotta has chosen an ambitious project for a two-hour film. Luxemburg once commented, "I was accidentally conscripted into the ferment of history, but really was born simply to tend geese." The film constantly reaffirms this self-description, giving us Rosa as fiery-upstart-cum-doting-gardener, rallying a crowd of workers as passionately as she reassures her cat.

The apparent contradiction between Rosa's inner desire for blissful domesticity, her quiet love of the natural world and her outer life

of tumultuous political conflict is what von Trotta attempts to resolve in the film. Given its subtext that the Marxist ideologues of the time were losing touch with the "spontaneity of the proletariat," Luxemburg is shown struggling against the bureaucratization of socialist politics. The anguish she suffers as a woman is suggested as enabling her to retain an authentic identification with the working class, transcending her bourgeois education, perhaps in a way her male counterparts could not.

Though responsible for orthodox Marxian work like *The Accumula-*

tion of Capital, Rosa is often seen here as peace activist, presumably to strike an ironic note in view of the current situation in Western Europe. Yet von Trotta skillfully includes her theoretical disagreements with the revisionism of the Social Democratic Party (SPD).

In a colorful early scene at a New Year's Eve costume party, the evolutionary Socialist Edouard Bernstein is dressed in a clown suit. Rosa refuses to dance with him, unwilling to compromise even in this frivolous instance. Karl Kautsky is at first her mentor, but ultimately bears the full brunt of her critical wrath when he fails to reject the

pro-war policies of the SPD.

Barbara Sukowa, who has shown remarkable flexibility in her portrayal of Fassbinder's whores (*Lola, Berlin Alexanderplatz*) and von Trotta's revolutionaries (*Marianne and Julianne, Rosa*), is thoroughly

FILM

convincing as the valiant Rosa, hobbling around on a leg lame since childhood.

During lengthy prison stretches, Sukowa subtly allows us to see Rosa struggling to maintain her resolve as she is weakened by the news of the death of a young lover. Though straining a bit during the sequences depicting her ill-fated romance with Leo Jogiches, she evokes the essence of Luxemburg's power at the podium in riveting fashion.

Why was this seemingly fragile and introspective woman feared as the infamous "Red Rosa" by the political establishment? Von Trotta makes sure we know Luxemburg was motivated not just by pure pacifism, but a desire to keep the international workers' movement intact. In a scene with a sympathetic prison guard, she snaps, "They've changed the slogan to 'Workers of the world unite in peacetime, but in war—slit each other's throats!'"

In the end, she was a victim of terrible violence herself, martyred by the first stirring of German fascism. Having since occupied an uncertain niche in her adopted country's history, Rosa is effectively revived in this moving and well-executed film as a glowing example of Marxism with a human face. ■

Ed Morales is a New York-based writer.

The Times

Continued from page 24

Conspiracy: Radicalism on Trial in Nevada. "Grave errors were made," said Gov. Dick Bryan, pardons board chairman. But then, if you look at it from the mineowner's point of view, those guys were agitators, and probably refused to leave town like the Honduran priest. What were those beleaguered tycoons supposed to do? All those menacing Wobblie peasants! That must be it. But they're pardoned now, so everything's OK, right?

It isn't the *New York Times* stories alone that do me in, even in conjunction with my reduced dose of caffeine. It's the fear and rage they produce, accompanied by the desire to do something, and the hopeless feeling that there's nothing to be done. I'm no psychotherapist, but I think the anxiety is not just the result of my half-a-tiny-cup of coffee.

And that brings me to the Op-Ed page: three separate and apparently unrelated pieces. Flora Lewis writes on "The Guilt of Doing Nothing." The Anthony Lewis column is "The Most Cruel." And Ray Bonner's imperative headline is "Aquino Must Address Filipinos' Poverty."

"The Guilt of Doing Nothing" is on the Klaus Barbie trial, the purpose of which, Flora Lewis writes, is "to keep memory alive so the crimes may never be allowed to happen again." As though, I think, large-scale crimes against whole groups of people are all in the past, are "history." As though it was only in the '30s and '40s that whole populations stood silently by, knew and shrugged. As if, as Ms. Lewis says, this will probably be the last big war criminal trial in the West, "a gripping history lesson for those too young to remember, those who have forgotten, and those who never wanted to know." As if we think that those kinds of crimes, or the crime of unjustifiable war, is over, is historical, and the Nazis' plan to rid Germany of Jews is totally different from the North American desire to rid, not itself, but its southern neighbors of the dread (Commie) menace.

As if we alone have a sacred mandate, and can without guilt send the priest out of town, and shoot the volunteer who went to help build dams and bring the miracle of electricity to a Nicaraguan village. And why didn't they have electricity? This is the late 20th century, and our neighbors don't even have

electricity? What kind of neighbors are we, anyway? That was Anthony Lewis's subject, the death of a young American engineer, a volunteer in Nicaragua, one of those people who knew but didn't shrug, who decided to do something simple and profound like help the neighbors into the 20th century, even if it was dangerous. And it was definitely dangerous. He's dead.

A congressional non-hearing: At the congressional hearing on the incident his parents took the witness stand. The facts were reviewed. "On April 28 he was out looking at a nearby stream, planning to dam it and generate electricity for the village. The autopsy report said he was first injured in the legs, then killed with a shot to the head from less than two feet away. There were gunpowder burns on his face."

"They blew his brains out at point-blank range as he lay wounded," his father told the committee. "I consider the U.S. government, and its effectors, the contras, guilty of this crime. This is murder." Columnist Lewis tells how a member of the committee (Connie Mack [R-FL]) rounded on Mr. and Mrs. Linder, suggesting that they had not allowed an appropriate time to grieve for their son before trying to do something about the policy that led to his death. Why rush? Remember



those guys in Nevada? Maybe it took 80 years, but in the end they got that pardon!

Mack was unable to understand how the parents could "use" (my quotes) the grief they feel to politicize the situation. He said he thought they were "asking for it," that they'd come too soon, less than three weeks since the death of their son. Columnist Lewis was listening to a National Public Radio tape of the episode, on which he heard in the background, Benjamin's mother, Mrs. Linder, speaking with disbelief.

"Asked for it?" she said. "That is the most cruel thing you could have said."

But no, Mack was not going to concede cruelty. He didn't consider it cruel, telling the parents their son *had* asked for it, that point-blank bullet. And then Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Elliott Abrams spoke soothing words, telling the hearing that Benjamin Linder's death was "a tragedy which need not have occurred." If only Nicaragua hadn't allowed Americans into the combat zone. Those appalling Nicaraguans, trying to provide light for their peasants.

Combat-zone flashback: My thoughts flash backward. If only the Americans hadn't supported the corrupt Somoza regime for so many decades. If only the Nicaraguans hadn't

Reading between the lines of the morning *New York Times*.

been among the poorest of the poor countries of this hemisphere. If only they'd had electricity long ago, Benjamin Linder's brains would still be intact, working on some more space-age late-'80s problem than trying to help Nicaragua out of the dark ages, and getting shot point-blank for being there trying. "It was a combat zone!" Abrams said.

Which brings me to the piece on Aquino and the need to address Filipino poverty. The history—again—is pertinent. The enemy—again—is the Commies. Or *is* it the Commies? Three decades ago, the U.S. launched one of its first counterinsurgency wars in the Philippines. A covert campaign considered successful at the time, it was designed to stamp out the community menace.

But recently, even as covert operations in Central America are being scrutinized by Congress and a special prosecutor, President Reagan, "our" president (my quotes), has reportedly signed a "finding" authorizing increased covert activity by the CIA in that beleaguered nation, says Ray Bonner. Unfortunately, Aquino has not found a way to change things in her country, where two-thirds of the population live in rural (unlit) poverty. What happened to the promises of land reform and redistribution? Mrs. Aquino, a member of one of the country's wealthiest clans, has not bit the bullet. She would have to go against her friends and her class, said

a Filipino journalist.

The CIA knows the score: So nothing changes. The U.S. general who led the counterinsurgency in the '50s noted at the time that the Philippines had "a government of the privileged few, not of the people." Those few probably had exquisite lamps or chandeliers lighting up their spacious homes. As for the rest of the nation—even in the '60s the CIA in a secret national intelligence estimate observed that the country was beset by "land hunger in the countryside, unemployment in the cities and a grinding poverty for the overwhelming majority of the people." Without a program to address these basic problems, the CIA concluded, "nationalism and discontent are likely to lend themselves to leftist exploitation."

It must be pretty discouraging for the CIA, and Mrs. Aquino, too. What's to be done about all those peasants? Why do they need electricity anyway? Why don't they just go to bed early, so they'll be wide awake and eager to work their lord's holdings in the morning? Nobody ever says so out loud, but if you think about it those Nazis really had quite the solution to the problem of large groups of troublesome folks. How much more peaceful the world would be without all these agitated masses of dirty peasants, clamoring for food, looking for land, susceptible to menacing leftist propaganda luring them with promises of literacy and electric generators. But no, that type of solution is now commonly acknowledged as being in the "crimes against humanity" category. That's all in the past. That was then. This is now. We've learned our lessons from history and the last "real" war.

It's May 15, 1987. Today's *New York Times* tells us: troops and jets and helicopters and landing strips and warships are all in place. Reporter James LeMoyné, who's been there and knows, says the exercises appear to reflect a growing American ability to send combat forces to Central America. And maintain them there. U.S. officials acknowledge, we are now prepared for invasion.

"We"? (my quotes) "Our" government? (my quotes). My anxiety level rises. The terrible impotence and guilt of doing nothing, the rage at reading of the most cruel things being done in our names—it's intolerable. My hand is trembling as I write.

Maybe if I gave up coffee completely.... ■
Solveig Nilsen is a poet and librarian who lives in Minneapolis.

Congress

Continued from page 13

"Last year," he continued, "Tom Foley [now House majority leader] made a speech on the contra aid bill in which he said that the administration was basically right about Nicaragua, and it's just a question of the tactics you're going to use. It's that mindset we're opposed to. If you buy into the mythology you can't buy out of the policy."

In the wake of the votes on the anti-intervention amendments, Mercado-Llorens agreed that the administration's chances of passing some sort of contra aid package in the fall were considerably improved. Congressional sources now offer a scenario in which the House defeats a large aid request, the Senate narrowly passes it, and some lower, but still substantial compromise figure is accepted. This scenario would be even more plausible if the administration imposed a temporary cease-fire on the contras, as the

president offered in a letter to Rep. Dave McCurdy (D-OK) last year.

An agenda of its own: While the Congress flounders, the White House proceeds with its own plans in Central America. In April the administration announced that it planned to sell 12 F-5E fighter jets to Honduras, at a cost of \$74.6 million. Honduras, which already has French *Super Mysteres*, has the most advanced air force in the region. This will be the first time that the U.S. has sold fighter jets in Central America, and the sale would encourage the Nicaraguan government to acquire MiG fighters from the Soviet Union—an action that the administration has said would merit an American military response. Though there is wide opposition to the sale in the House, led by Rep. Gerald Kleczka (D-WI) and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has already voted against it, it is unlikely that Congress will muster the two-thirds majority necessary to halt the sale, which in any case is a sale in name

only: the State Department is giving the Hondurans the money to buy the planes out of its regular military assistance.

Yet a Democratic staffer heavily involved in Central American issues takes an optimistic view of the long-term chances for peace in Central America, citing three factors that might change the Reagan administration's position on the issue: "One is the Arias [Honduran president] peace plan. Two is the introduction of [new Chief of Staff] Howard Baker into the White House. And three is that they're running out of time and need to do something. That could mean something terrible, like an invasion, but it could mean something good, like serious negotiations."

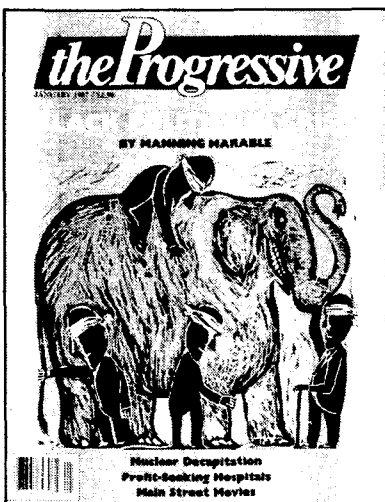
This optimism was shared by David Cohen, a lobbyist with the Advocacy Institute, a group that assists the anti-intervention groups in their efforts to sway Congress. "The Mrazek amendment only lost by 28 votes; that means you only need to change 15 votes to win."

He acknowledged that the Senate will be more difficult than its colleagues in the opposite wing of the Capitol: "The Senate is slower than the House. Remember that in the House Tip O'Neill was very strong on this issue, and he left behind a good leadership."

What kind of strategy did Cohen think could stop contra funding in the fall? "The real work isn't necessarily here in Washington. It's out in the districts, in the home territories."

Richard Ryan is a frequent contributor to *In These Times*.

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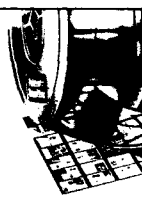
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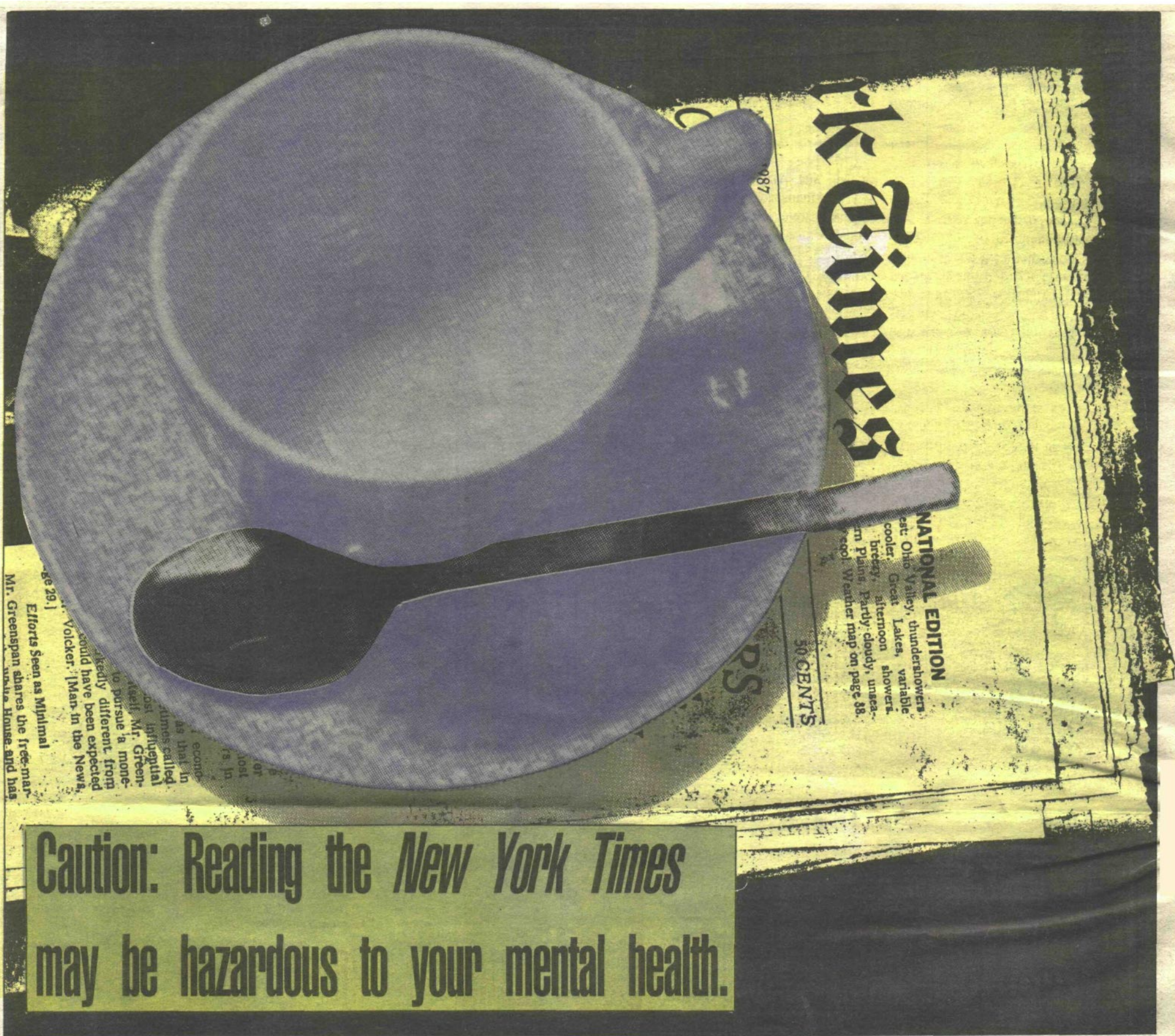
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By Solveig Nilsen

IT'S FRIDAY, MAY 15. THE SUN IS SHINING. IT'S WARM already, at 10:05 a.m. I push the coffee cup to the end of the table, out of reach. I've cut my caffeine consumption in half twice recently, but even a little is too much these days. Just can't drink it anymore, at least not while I'm reading the appalling revelations of the *New York Times*.

Page 1: Front and center, the headline reads: Answers Elude Inquiry. The congressional questioning of Mr. McFarlane, says the *Times*, has been imprecise and with little follow-up. Most of the legislators have had their questions prepared by their staffs, and "tend to move from one question to the next without paying much heed to the answers." Evidently our honorable senators and legislators just don't have the heart for it. The clinching questions just weren't asked, said the *Times*. What's going on here?

Page 5: U.S. Troops Stage Mock Assault 100 Miles from Nicaragua. Thirteen warships, fleets of helicopters and combat jets combine in an air and sea exercise, part of an

extended effort by the U.S. Atlantic Command involving 40,000 troops—special forces, parachute units, infantry divisions, Air Force units. Officials say there is no intention at present, but they are now prepared for an invasion should the U.S. need to go to war with Nicaragua. The purpose, they said, was to "wave a big stick," to dissuade Nicaragua from trying to invade Honduras. The *Times*' reporter concedes, however, that this is "seemingly unlikely," since Nicaragua is at present struggling to defend itself from an invasion of several thousand guerrillas sent from Honduras.

The Hondurans in Trujillo, the small northern coastal town from which the mock invasion was staged, were described by the reporter as appearing to welcome the hubbub as a relief from life's daily routine. Lucky for them, this opportunity for diversion from their local problems—chief of which is unemployment. But also that trouble with the town priest, expelled for "agitating" (the *Times*' quotes, not mine). It was his fault, evidently, that the peasants got riled up about having their land seized by senior army officers allied to local landlords.

The *Times* saw fit to give a little history, along with the report on the current situation. Trujillo, they tell us, has a historical link to past American adventures in Nicaragua. (No quotes around adventures). More than 100 years ago, in 1860, William Walker, the American colonizer and slaver, occupied and ruled Nicaragua for a while. It was in Trujillo that he was seized, executed and buried for interfering in Central American affairs.

With Walker's corpse in their local soil, it's understandable, perhaps that the Hondurans try to appear to welcome the American presence, which consists—these last four years—of constant exercises, tens of thousands of troops, eight air fields built for military use, and a permanent presence at the huge American-run Palmerola air base. No, an American Embassy spokesman said, the embassy has not organized any special economic help for the town. The help, one concludes, is the presence itself; North America to the rescue in full war-dress.

The enterprising *Times* reporter found a high school student who knew which way the breezes were blowing (hurricane

strength, with all those helicopters overhead). He said he knew the score. "The Americans have to do this. Nicaragua is a menace...." I got up from the table and went into the living room for the almanac. Iowa—Nicaragua is about the size of Iowa, with one-third the population of New York City.

Back to the kitchen table.

Page 11: Posthumous pardons in 1907 labor cases. The convictions of two Wobblies found guilty of murder have just now been overturned, how many safe years later? The IWW was a menace, mining company owners said at the time. The group had grown rapidly across the West and Midwest, embracing all industries and aiming to create a new order. "The trial and the controversy surrounding it was a blow to the union, which embraced all industries and aimed to abolish the wage system and create a new order. After the trial federal troops were brought in to suppress the Wobblies and other union activists in Goldfield [Nevada]."

The relatives of the two convicted Wobblies applied for the pardons after reading a recent book about the case, *The Ignoble*

Continued on page 21